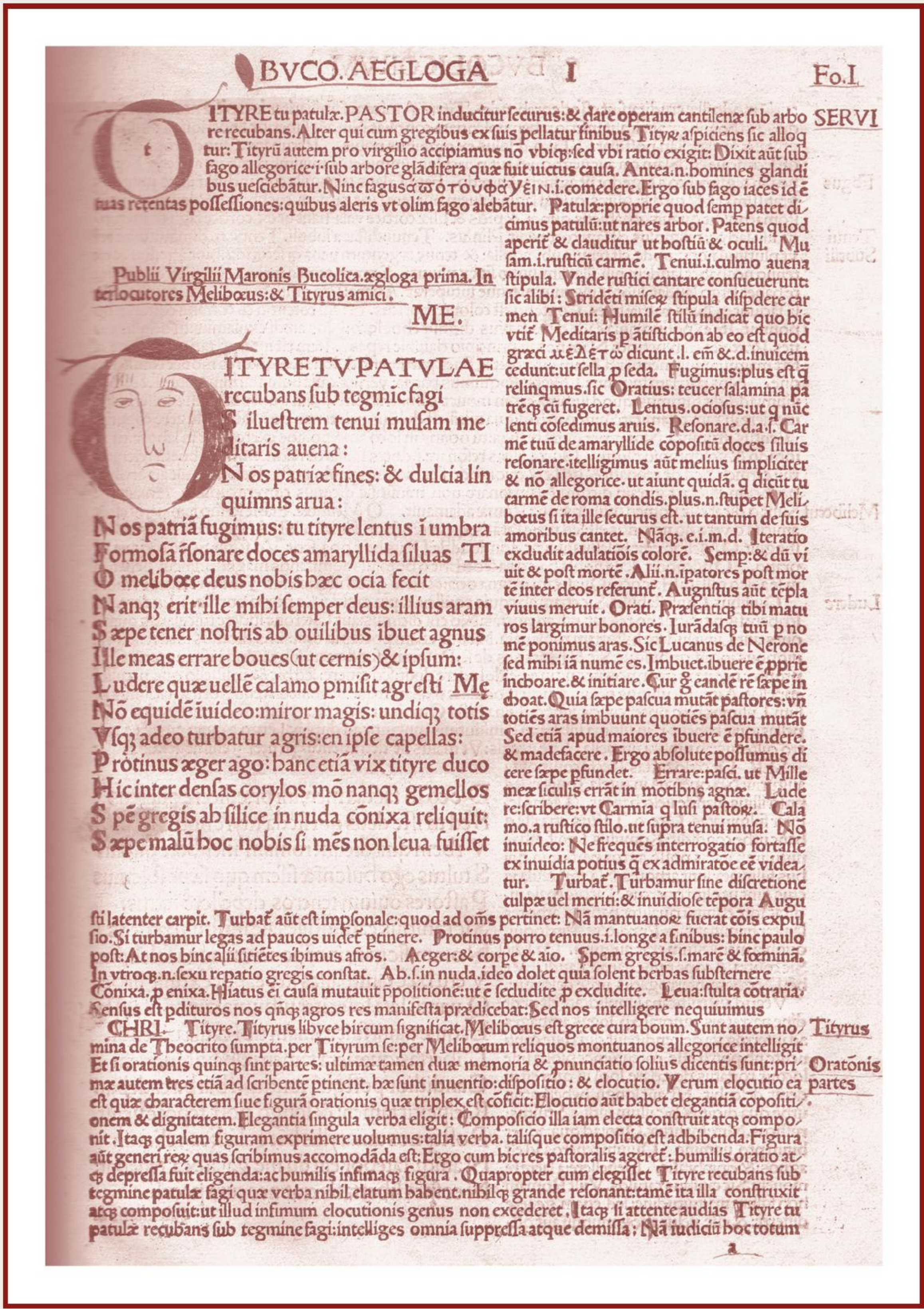


LATINITAS PERENNIS

VOLUME II

APPROPRIATION AND LATIN LITERATURE



Edited by

YANICK MAES, JAN PAPY & WIM VERBAAL

Series Editor: A.J. VANDERJAGT

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Latinitas Perennis
VOLUME II

Brill's Studies in Intellectual History

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VOLUME 178

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Yanick Maes
Jan Papy
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Folium I (from one of the earlier Vergil editions in Germany) illustrates in a beautiful way the coexistence of different traditions in Latin history: in the centre the classical text of the first *Eclogue* (vss. 1–17), enclosed by its Late Antique commentary in the typically scholastic lay-out (with hand-colossured rubrication, majuscles and a *drôlerie* in the first capital), which is supplemented with the 15th-century commentaries of Cristoforo Landino and Domizio Calderino, all combined in an incunabulum as a step towards a new era that looms on the horizon.

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CHAPTER ONE

CONTINUITY THROUGH APPROPRIATION? BY WAY OF INTRODUCTION

YANICK MAES

This book is the second volume in a series of three treating the characteristics of Latin literature throughout the ages. The aim of the project, which we have called *Latinitas Perennis*, is to open up discussion across the traditional boundaries of Latin studies. In this way we hope not only to deepen our understanding of the proper place of Latin literature within the whole of European literature, but also to enable Latinists to venture into new territories. The conception of each book, initially at least, was the meeting of the writers invited to Brussels to discuss their contributions. The theme of the second meeting in Brussels of the *Latinitas Perennis* project, 'Appropriation', suggested itself as a natural sequel to the theme of the first conference, 'Continuity'.¹

Appropriation is at the very heart of Latin literature. We all know that the first written records of Latin literature, the works of Livius Andronicus and Naevius, were adaptations of Greek literature. But treating them as merely the work of *epigones* or as derivative is now well behind us: intertextuality has given rise to an astonishing quantity of research, in which any idea of simply admiring and somehow passive reception is no longer dominant. Instead we have a focus on the

¹ Verbaal W. – Maes Y. – Papy J. (eds.), *Latinitas Perennis 1: The continuity of Latin literature* (Leiden-Boston: 2007). The second meeting took place at the *Koninklijke Vlaamse Akademie van Wetenschappen en Kunsten van België* (Brussels), on 25 May 2007. The editors would like to express their gratitude to the *Koninklijke Vlaamse Akademie van Wetenschappen en Kunsten van België* (KVAB), the *Fonds voor Wetenschappelijk Onderzoek—Vlaanderen* (FWO), the *Faculteit van Letteren en Wijsbegeerte van de Universiteit Gent* (UG), the *Faculteit Letteren van de Katholieke Universiteit Leuven* (KUL), the departments of *Literatuurwetenschap: Latijnse Literatuurstudie* (KUL), *Latijn & Grieks* (UG) and *Romaanse Talen* (UG) for their generous financial support. Without their grants neither the contactforum could have been organised nor would this book have appeared. The editors are equally grateful to Iannis Goerlandt for his translations into English and to David Seton for his careful reading of the texts.

dynamics of appropriation,² studying the way the adaptation was made to work within a Roman context.³ It is by now something of a given that all literary work is composed of fragments of pre-found discourse and the words of others.⁴ We also have terminology to go with this shift of attention: from ‘creative reception’ through dialogue (in Bakhtin’s sense) and ‘multivoicedness’. And that is leaving such metaphors as ‘the textual universe’ to one side.

As Latinists we are all well versed in the concepts of *imitatio* and *aemulatio*, and we all understand that true originality can in a sense only result from an inventive and skillfully honed transformation of conventions. Consequently, mastering and understanding those conventions forms an important part of the process of appropriation. This can be done privately, but it is remarkable that the rise of Latin literature, indeed of a concept of such a literature, more or less went in parallel with the introduction of a new form of education, centering on the study of literature, as part of a rhetorical education.⁵ From at least the first century BC onwards, literary and rhetorical education came to be the most important factor in transmitting the techniques needed for creative adaptation and appropriation of the great literary works. Mastering the most important discursive structures from the past and developing a stylistic matrix that could be

² As in the title of the influential Hinds S., *Allusion and intertext: dynamics of appropriation in Roman poetry* (Cambridge: 1998).

³ For a study of this process within a literary context see e.g. Goldberg S., *Epic in Republican Rome* (New York: 1995). A fundamental reflection on the importance of the appropriation and integration of Greek culture within the Roman upper-class can be found in Flaig E., “Über der Grenzen der Akkulturation—Wider die Verdinglichung des Kulturbegriff” in Gr. Vogt-Spira – B. Rommel (eds.), *Rezeption und Identität: die kulturelle Auseinandersetzung Roms mit Griechenland als europäisches Paradigma* (Stuttgart: 1999) 81–112.

⁴ The work of M. Bakhtin remains an important point of reference for literary scholars venturing into this area. See by way of example the third part, “The Dialogic Principle”, of Bracht Banham R. (ed.), *Bakhtin and the Classics* (Evanston (Ill.): 2002). The essays edited by Michael Holquist and translated by Caryl Emerson – Bakhtin M., *The dialogic imagination: four essays* (Austin (Tex.): 1982)—remain a good starting point as does the seminal Volosinov V.N., *Marxism and the philosophy of language; transl. by Ladislav Matejka e.a.* (Cambridge (Mass.): 1986).

⁵ Habinek T.N., *The politics of Latin literature: writing, identity, and empire in ancient Rome* (Princeton (N.J.): 2001). Goldberg S., *Constructing Literature in the Roman Republic: Poetry and its Reception* (Cambridge: 2005) offers a stimulating and thought-provoking study of how Latin comedy started as a collection of performance scripts and eventually was turned into a body of what we call a literature.

used to express oneself adequately in every situation was the ultimate aim of the reading and writing exercises that formed the essence of the basic oratorical training. The technical vocabulary and the pedagogical techniques developed with great finesse by the rhetoricians from the first centuries AD are thus not to be considered the origin of the fading and withering of Latin literature, but would rather seem to be fundamental to the vitality of Latin literature throughout its long history. The schooling system was and is a guarantee of continuity, by inculcating the reading of texts, the rewriting and interpretation of them in new ways. Texts from the past, thus used, remained active and became essential tools for the creation of a 'connective structure'. This connective structure guarantees the existence of a collective memory of a shared past.⁶ Intricately interwoven with this creation of a connective structure, is the problem of canonization: appropriation almost necessarily operates within the parameters of the canon, because 'the perpetuation of any canon is dependent in part on the references made to its earlier members by its later members'.⁷

The ability to communicate with others, to speak meaningful words, to create literature that touches others and that can be understood by his fellow man is not something that man learns from himself alone, but is an ability developed through interaction and dialogue.⁸ The words we use, whether they are literary or not, are never entirely our own. We

⁶ Assman J., *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis. Schrift, Erinnerung und politische Identität in frühen Hochkulturen* (Munich: 1997) 16–17: 'Was einzelne Individuen zu einem (...) Wir zusammenbindet, ist die konnektive Struktur eines gemeinsamen Wissens und Selbstbildes, das sich zum einen auf die Bindung an gemeinsame Regeln und Werte, zum anderen auf die Erinnerung an eine gemeinsam bewohnte Vergangenheit stützt'. The idea is based on the sociology of Thomas Luckmann and Peter Berger.

⁷ Attridge, D., "Oppressive Silence: J.M. Coetzee's *Foe* and the politics of canonisation" in G. Huggan – S. Watson (eds.), *Critical perspectives on J.M. Coetzee* (Basingstoke: 1996) 168–190 at page 169. Cf. Assmann J., *Gedächtnis* (note 6) 91: 'Sinn bleibt nur durch Zirkulation lebendig [...]. Die Texte sind es von sich aus noch nicht, sondern nur insoweit, als sie ihrerseits zirkulieren'.

⁸ Lachmann R., *Gedächtnis und Literatur: Intertextualität in der russischen Moderne* (Frankfurt a.M.: 1990) 47 describes this process thus: 'Der Text als nichtpersonaler Träger von Gedächtnis erscheint als Element einer Gedächtnisgrammatik, die jeder Kulturteilnehmer, will er in der entsprechenden Kultur agieren [...] erlernen muß. Indem er deren Regeln erlernt, wird er fähig, die alten Texte nachzubuchstabieren und ihre Ellipsen durch Kommentare (Lesarten, Interpretationen) aufzufangen und neue Texte zu generieren'.

have to appropriate them.⁹ And to this end, the schooling tradition is an important means.¹⁰

We can read the history of Latin literature as a chain of works rewriting works that were in turn rewritings of yet older works. We can read the works of Vergil, Ovid, Juvenius, Augustine, and so on with an eye on the past, but we can read them also as part of the future, as a starting point for the works that were to react to them, that will yet grow out of them. A textual universe, indeed. In her thought-provoking contribution Christine Walde argues that the way Latin literature evolved from its very beginning made it eminently suitable for this endless chain of reworking. Latin literature came equipped with a vital potential for renewal because at its heart sat what she calls a ‘powerful cultural phantasma’, namely that human creativity can transform and integrate hybrid elements without the danger of losing individual identity. Alessandro Barchiesi deals with a concrete instance in which we see this cultural phantasma at work: the tradition of exemplarity. By focusing on the tensions inherent in the tradition of exemplarity and on its adaptability to different needs, he convincingly argues that the different uses made of *exempla* turned Latin literature into ‘a vast laboratory of exemplarity’. This made it possible for the tradition to survive even fundamental social, historical and cultural changes.

These two chapters also illustrate clearly how texts are always the result of meaningful human action. They also show that human subjects are part of a socio-cultural context. People do not live in a vacuum.

⁹ Bakhtin M., “Remarques sur l’épistémologie des sciences humaines” in: Idem, *Esthétique de la création verbale* (A. Aucouturier, tr.) (Paris: 1984) 381–393, at page 385: ‘le “mot d’autrui” se transforme—dialogiquement—pour devenir “mot personnel-étranger” à l’aide d’autres “mots d’autrui”, puis, mot personnel (avec, pourrait-on dire, perte de guillemets). Le mot a déjà, alors, un caractère créateur’.

¹⁰ Eigler U., *Lectiones vetustatis: römische Literatur und Geschichte in der lateinischen Literatur der Spätantike* (Munich: 2003) is an excellent investigation of how form and content are mutually dependent in the transmission of what in Late Antiquity was considered to be relevant historical knowledge: the fact that the historical *exempla* that were worth remembering were part of venerated literary works contributed in important ways to their relevance. The *grammaticus* and his school were essential for the mediation of both this knowledge and the legitimate language of the cultured, Latin-speaking man. By doing this they were also instrumental in maintaining social coherence: ‘Die weitreichende gesellschaftliche Bedeutung des Grammatikers besteht in einer grundsätzlichen Formatierung des literarischen Diskurses, der Garantie der *consuetudo*. Er stiftet damit eine horizontale Kohärenz innerhalb der Elite, garantiert durch über Jahrhunderte konstante Lehre und Konservativität und damit vertikale Kohärenz zwischen Generationen’ (p. 239).

This socio-cultural embeddedness is an essential part of the process of appropriation. Although Latin literature at some periods seems to be a time-free zone in which the only partners are authors who are long dead and gone, so that conversation is rather restricted, this can never be the whole truth: because authors are human and humans are social, and indeed can only exist through interaction with others, and because social reality never remains stable. As a consequence, every appropriation of the literary past engenders a re-vision (with deliberate hyphen) of that past (Adrienne Rich's term: although the re-vision seldom or perhaps never was as radical as she claimed, the term is useful in that it stresses the need for seeing things anew, even when being extremely conservative or traditional in one's methods).¹¹ Moreover, because of the situatedness of its writers, Latin literature of necessity reflects other traditions as well: the cultural tools through which their understanding of Latin literature is mediated change with the times. Hugo Tucker explores how Joachim Du Bellay does not privilege any particular Latin tradition but creates a complex polyphony by integrating different voices, from different times. His intertextual complexities are at the same time in constant dialogue with his immediate cultural and literary context—necessarily so, if his work is to be meaningful.

The social situatedness of appropriating authors is of even more relevance for the genre of occasional poetry, because such poetry transforms into its own essence the social interaction that is at the root of every learning, mastering or appropriating process. Harm-Jan van Dam most thoroughly examines the intricacies involved in the production of occasional verse by Dutch Neolatin poets from the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, and shows how these poets managed to give a new lease of life to categories and forms taken over from Antiquity, sometimes by radically rethinking them.

Appropriation in Latin literature means mastering, that is to say revisiting and thus re-visioning, its own past: but it also entails adapting itself to new pressures, to new constellations. As long as Latin literature remained a vital force, it was able to integrate these 'external' elements and at the same time it could contribute important insights and even be a formative force within those 'external' traditions. Julie Sanders is right

¹¹ Rich A., "When We Dead Awaken: Writing as Re-Vision", *College English* 34 (1972) 18–30. She maintains that for a true feminine literature to come into being (p. 19) 'we need to know the writing of the past, and know it differently than we have ever known it; not to pass on a tradition but to break its hold over us'.

in observing that 'the problem always in cultural encounters of this kind is the exact nature of the appropriation'. Depending on the point of view taken, the cultural exchange involved in the process of appropriation can seem hostile. 'The question always has to be posed 'who is appropriating who' and 'on what terms?''¹² But the transfer need not be a mere one-sided operation: even when the viewpoint of the other is transformed and integrated with the existing or dominant tradition, this tradition is altered and can preserve the 'source' culture. The conversation truly was a dialogue, often creating an interesting tension between traditions. One might think about the way that Christian authors such as Juvenius, Sedulius or Arator created a hybrid genre, Bible epic, in an attempt to bridge the gap between the tradition of classical epic and the sacred texts of Christianity. To this end they made use of epic language, epic themes and epic composition schemes that were developed from Vergil and Lucan foremost but—as Roger Green stresses in his recent study of these authors—the Christian epicists were at the same time wholly committed to the ideas that were central to the ideology of the Christian church.¹³ In her contribution Gunilla Iversen looks closely at the similar confrontation in a monastic milieu between classical tradition and the Greek-Hebrew tradition of the Holy Scripture in the ninth to eleventh centuries. Out of the somewhat unlikely meeting of learning, liturgy and psalmody grew new and multiform poetic genres. Pascal Bourgain for her part presents us with a fascinating case study of how writers of the 12th century appropriated an already existing genre, albeit one that was unknown in the Latin west, to wit eastern wisdom literature. She explores the different transformations of the sapiential collections and the strategies used in them to make this genre part of the Latin tradition in such a way that the ideas of the Other are, if not assimilated, then at least adapted and comprehensible to the Western frame of mind.

Throughout its whole history, then, the tradition of Latin literature was subject to dialectic forces. One with a centripetal impetus, the other more centrifugal. One system, so to speak, confirming, the other system challenging. Both forces are dependent on the dynamics of appropriation. This tension can be felt in each author and is resolved differently by different individuals. A special source of tension is created by the fact that 'Latin' as such never was a very clear-cut category. Walter Berschin

¹² Sanders J., *Adaptation and Appropriation* (New York: 2006) 99.

¹³ Green R., *Latin epics of the New Testament: Juvenius, Sedulius, Arator* (Oxford: 2006).

provides us with a short survey of what he calls the different epochal styles and their linguistic characteristics (tentatively adding a tenth category to the list: a mannerist epoch). The appropriation of the language and of the somewhat arbitrary norms on which it is based is a very important form of appropriation that is determining for the continuity of Latin literature. This linguistic field of contention is again bound up with the use of literary works within a school context, but also with the function of linguistic and literary competence as a source of distinction within the broader cultural and political fields and, in later times, with the claims staked by the vernacular traditions. Christopher Celenza examines this nexus in his masterful presentation of the discussion about the proper norms to be applied in writing Latin, a discussion that went on throughout the 15th century in Italy. The linguistic debate, which ended with the exchanges between Cortesi and Poliziano, is part of the broader social and cultural dynamics of the period and illustrates quite nicely how social distinction, the relevance and claims of the vernacular tradition, and contention about the nature of Latin and Latin literature are all intricately bound.

The different contributions all deal with the dialectics inherent in the appropriation process, and offer us glimpses of what complexities challenge Latinists who try to conceive of their field as a continuum. A glimpse at two fascinating examples of the entanglements that confront stout Latinists venturing into the minefield of continuity will bring this introduction to its close. A first and very explicit example is the tradition of recording the sermons preached in churches. In 11th and 12th century France the homily was often delivered in a romance dialect. Until the 12th century these sermons were simultaneously recorded by clerks, not in the romance dialect used by the priest, but in Latin. The scripts were afterwards reworked and put into archives. The interesting fact is that the underlying romance original sometimes remains detectable in the Latin text, especially when the scripts were not meant to be published.¹⁴ So how to qualify and study these texts? At the other end of the spectrum one can think about what is probably the first and last modern novel written in Latin, Ludvig Holberg's *Nicolai Klimii iter subterraneum*, published in 1741. This work, translated afterwards into many languages, was some

¹⁴ On this phenomenon see Constable G., "The Language of Preaching in the Twelfth Century", *Viator* 25 (1994) 131–152 at 131–133; Longère J., *La prédication médiévale* (Paris: 1983) 159–164; Baldwin C.S., *Medieval Rhetoric and Poetic* (Gloucester (Mass.): 1959) 232–233.

thing of a success in 18th century Europe. The work is inspired by the success of *Gulliver's Travels* and recounts the adventures of Nils Klim during his visit to a strange world underneath our own. Within this travel journal, Klim tells the story of how he found...a travel journal, in which a creature from the subterranean world recounts his travels in the world above. This classic narrator's trick enables him to mock the language (Latin) in which he himself is writing and more precisely, the fact that this language is no longer truly understood. While making fun of the Catholic requirement that prayers be in Latin, he acknowledges that the language has become something of an handicap for anyone trying to reach a broader public: 'They deem only those prayers legitimate and dear to God, that are made by people who do not understand what they are saying'.¹⁵ There is more than a trace of irony in this. Holberg chooses to write his own version of Gulliver's adventures in Latin, in order to reach European intellectuals. But we are witnessing not a splendid resurgence of a vitalized Latin literature—no, this is some sort of *Götterdämmerung*. Holberg is lucid enough to understand that the use of Latin excludes the majority of the public. The success of his novel will be measured, not by the copies sold, but by the number of translations made. Ultimately, Holberg chose Latin because it would guarantee the marketability of Nils Klim as a source text for European translators. And this brings Latin literature more or less full circle.

By bringing together specialists from different fields in Latin studies, we hope to throw some light on the different forms in which appropriation helped to define the history of Latin literature. We also hope that by ignoring the traditional boundaries that have grown between the specialisms, we might start a reflection on what the study of Latin literature as a whole might contribute. Recent developments in the academic field are not encouraging. We can detect a growing tendency towards ever-greater specialization. Coupled to a widening gap between the different scientific communities, this evolution is probably not for the best. It generates interesting and very detailed studies, worked within well-defined perimeters—contributions to the literature, so to speak, but which make it more than difficult to reflect at a more conceptual level

¹⁵ Holberg L., *Nicolai Klimii iter subterraneum* (Copenhagen-Leipzig: 1741) Chapter 13 § 34: 'Solae illae preces legetimae, ac deo gratiae censeantur, quae fiunt ab illis, qui nesciunt quid dicant'.

on the needs and desiderata of Latin studies. Looking at each other's ways of working, and discussing our own specialism with people from other parts of the world and from different departments in Latin studies, might be a good start.

PART I

PROGRAMMING APPROPRIATION

CHAPTER TWO

ROMAN DREAM WORKS

CHRISTINE WALDE

1. *Roma aeterna*

Romanitas, the first novel by Sophia McDougall (2005) received world-wide attention on its appearance.¹ In a sort of experimental history the author depicts a world without a fall or even a decline of the Roman Empire, which has maintained its political structures and culture up to our times. This fictional parallel cosmos parts from real history with the reign of Didius Pertinax, successor of Commodus (945–957 a.u.c. = 192–204 C.E.): not assassinated after sixty-eight days, he is able to realize his reform projects, and the task is taken over by his no less innovative and reform-conscious son, the heir to the throne. In the following centuries religious minorities, especially Jews and Christians, are persecuted and marginalized. Finally only Sina and Nionia (China and Japan) are left as political rivals of Rome. On a world-wide level the national languages are relegated to local dialects, with Latin the dominating written and spoken language. Foreign languages are important only for commerce or for the fugitives of the Roman Empire. McDougall's novel is focussed on a human-interest story set in the year 2757 *ab urbe condita* (or 2004 C.E.). After the violent deaths of his parents, the heirs apparent, the young prince Marcus Novius Faustus Leo flees from the intrigues of the court and even mingles with slaves. In the end he succeeds in winning back his position, but we are referred to a second (and third) volume in which further conflicts and challenges will arise....

Any expectation, however, that McDougall depicts *en détail* a modern *Imperium perenne* will be disappointed. To focus on the protagonists' psychology could have been a convincing strategy, had she evaded banality in this respect. Obviously, the self-imposed task of depicting

¹ McDougall S., *Romanitas* (London: 2005).

an eternal Rome bears heavily on any other aspect of the novel, though McDougall's blueprint identifies some of the reasons why the historical Rome achieved such longevity: the typically 'Roman' system of laws, values and norms, efficient organization, mass entertainment, social mobility and slavery.² Being Roman means living in the land of unlimited possibilities. No wonder that even slaves identify with the idea of Rome. As in this Empire hardly any racism can be found, slavery or freedom are not defined along ethnic lines. Technical and economic progress is explained by the cheap human resources. These plausible aspects could have led to some deeper reflections on whether our contemporary society is really so different from this *Imperium Romanum*. Unavoidable parallels with the US Empire, currently in the cross-fire of international acclaim and criticism,³ are salient but hardly spectacular. Consequently, this rather unimaginative fiction not only presents us *in nuce* and with very small shifts of parameters with a stereotyped Ancient Rome⁴ (as mirrored in the contemporary products of mass culture), but we also find today's notion of 'culture' synonymous with political power, technology (ingenious techniques of crucifixion, electric aerial cable cars and other highlights of technical progress), efficiency in time and method and a vague idea of 'progress'. As traits of modern dystopias prevail, in the end the novel is nothing more (nor less) than the description of the *conditio humana* in the industrial and digital age, though shifted by some 'Roman' parameters. The (trade-union-friendly?) heir apparent Leo is assassinated because he wants to abolish slavery and is already actively promoting the welfare of slaves. Furthermore the novel is strikingly dependent on popular myths of our time: Clodia and Leo, the Prince and Princess of London, are killed in France in a mysterious car accident (!). They evoke vaguely or less so Gracia Patricia of Monaco, John F. Kennedy, Lady Diana and even

² McDougall does not make the mistake of fashioning 'modern' Roman slavery after the model of French or British enslavement of the peoples in their colonies.

³ For an analysis and critical evaluation of modern *imperia* cf. Hardt M. – Negri A., *Empire* (Cambridge (Mass.): 2000).—One cannot decide whether the author was aware that *Romanitas* alludes to Mussolini's concept of *Romanità* which was at the core of his ideology.

⁴ McDougall's 'Roman' culture is a capriccio of modernized Roman tunics, games and other forms of mass culture, *fora* and statues, shining *palazzi* and *domus* with luxuriant gardens. Instructive is the aspect 'fashion': As reality shows fashion undergoes constant and radical changes, even in shorter periods. And if Ancient Rome was, as we know, no stranger to changing fashions, this could have led to some sort of fantasy production in regard to a modern Ancient Rome.

Prince Charles. A new idea is that we are confronted with a charming couple, a true 'prince and princess of the heart'. Precisely this evocation and transformation of modern patterns of perception could have been of advantage if paired with a finer gift of imaginative power. But in contrast to other novels set in Rome, this popular product makes no use of the synergy with intertextuality to Roman literature except in a very rarified form nor—as a more pronounced political criticism would have suggested—with the great dystopias of all ages: we find a bit of Verres, a bit of Vergil, a lot of Caesarian madness, all seasoned with some snippets of Orwell's 1984 (or the movie) and *Gladiator*.

Though *Romanitas* tries to imagine an eternal Rome (and thereby bears testimony to the unbroken perseverance of the *Rom-Idee*), its distance from a credible description and evaluation of Rome's after-effects and reverberation up to our own time is breathtaking. In her historical overview⁵ McDougall notes down technical progress and military success as well as the extinction of several religions, but the only product of art and literature of renown mentioned in the book is Vergil's *Aeneid* (223ss.) as a venerable and timeless manifesto of the principate and of rather shallow 'Roman' values. Apparently, the art and literature of this *Imperium Romanum* cannot be imagined.⁶ Yet, from the perspective of literary and artistic achievements and erudition, we certainly still inhabit a Roman Empire.⁷ In this respect Rome never perished in spite of its political dissolution and transformation into what has followed. Perhaps the idea of Rome, which has been prominently transmitted down the centuries by an ever-present Latin literature, has been more productive *via* the constant transformation and translation into new contexts than it would have been had the Empire still continued as a political unity. Even beyond the modernism of McDougall's *Romanitas* we can perceive archetypal story patterns and mechanisms of myth production, whose origin dates back to Graeco-Roman culture.

In terms of an experimental history of literature we could ask: 'What would our literature or culture in general look like without Ancient

⁵ This overview is hidden in an Appendix (578–588), which to my mind is the most interesting part of the book.

⁶ Maybe because Late Antiquity where "Roman Literature" was canonized or Christianity did not happen?

⁷ One cannot overvalue the impact of Roman Literature on the formation of European Christian and vernacular language. Of paramount / equal importance is Late Antiquity. Reading Fuhrmann M., *Rom in der Spätantike* (Zürich: 1994), makes us wonder whether we today still live in Late Antiquity.

Rome,⁸ if it had not taken the known course of text answering texts (even over language barriers),⁹ which is typical of our European literature up to our own times? To my mind this alternative model cannot be imagined. It would imply a full stop immediately after Homer, without cultural transfer into contexts dominated by other political structures and / or other languages, and therefore other interpretative universes. From our perspective there is, and was, no alternative to Rome. The main contribution of Rome is the emergence of a powerful cultural phantasma that came into life under very propitious cultural and social conditions.¹⁰ This is the cultural phantasma of human creativity able to transform and integrate heterogeneous material into something new, lasting and meaningful, without the restrictive fear of surrendering one's own identity. This powerful cultural phantasma was the presupposition for the continuous elaboration of what might be called our literary and hermeneutic heritage. It implies a marked flexibility of thinking, with constant reproduction and addition of ideas and traditions, which has led to an enormous imaginative output down to our own time. I would like here to approach and describe this cultural phantasma in

⁸ Certainly there still will be certain Classical Philologists, who will deny outright that this is a justified, intelligent or even sane question, as they persist in canvassing the superiority of Ancient Greece. They would reformulate the question thus: What would our culture be without the Ancient Greeks? But Rome has been an important catalyst and conduit in our culture. So we could modify our question: what would be, if we had had the Greeks, but not the Romans? In answering this question we should avoid the fallacy and siren temptation of the popular idea of an ever perpetuated *decadence*: There were Greek and—later Roman—poets and prose writers following Homer (the—as we know today—apparent *Urknall* only), who in their turn inspired their readers' imagination over centuries and functioned as models of literary innovation or offered subliminally transmitted patterns of storytelling and expression. Those critics, who deem Roman Literature only a shallow and poor copy of Greek Literature, are obliged to depict an alternative model of development.

⁹ For an assessment of this phenomenon, cf. Assmann J., *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis. Schrift, Erinnerung und politische Identität in frühen Hochkulturen* (Munich: 21997), especially 289ss.

¹⁰ I borrowed "cultural phantasma" from Cornelius Castoriadis, to be precise from his 1975 book *L'institution imaginaire de la société* (Paris: 1975). Throughout this essay the page numbers refer to the German translation: *Gesellschaft als imaginäre Institution. Entwurf einer politischen Philosophie* (Frankfurt a.M.: 1990). Castoriadis states that every society is dominated by an element giving to the interpretative system its special orientation by overdetermining the interconnection of its several symbolic webs. This momentum, this central significance (p. 249) determines not only all connections, but also the distinction between important and unimportant; it is the origin of the essential enrichment of all things with practical, with affective and intellectual, individual or a collective cathexis. According to Castoriadis this is nothing other than the imaginaries of a culture, or a cultural phantasma.

several steps, well aware that I am attempting a first exploration into this field.¹¹ Part one is devoted to some of the propitious social and cultural conditions in Rome that made possible its development, whereas the second part presents five Roman writers who reflect more or less theoretically on this meaningful combination of heterogeneous material (Terence, Lucretius, Vergil, Seneca, and authors on the practice of mnemotechnics). These examples show that this phantasma is not an idea superimposed on the facts, but something which was already in the air. In part three, I will exemplify this phantasma manifesting itself in constant literary hybridization by looking at Lucan's historical epic *Bellum Civile*, and in the last part I will suggest a model which could be adequate for the concept of a history of literature which takes account of the phantasmatical literary production of Ancient Rome.

2. *Fundamentals and Strategies of the Development of Roman Literature*

In Ancient Rome we can observe the emergence and prolific continuation of a literature on the second and further levels *sensu* Genette, where literary strategies and patterns were coined which survived even after the decline and dissolution of the Roman Empire and helped to confirm the position of Latin literature as the only ever existing supranational literature. In Rome, the preconditions for this culturally specific elaboration of the literary-hermeneutic heritage and the flexibility of ideas and thoughts, in which transmission and reproduction appear as one huge continuous production of phantasies and ideas, were particularly auspicious. I want to name just some of them.

¹¹ This article is to be seen as a preliminary to the preface to a supplement to *Der Neue Pauly* ("Die Rezeption der griechisch-römischen Literatur. Ein kulturhistorisches Werklexikon", scheduled for 2009). As it is also the formulation of my concept of Latin / Roman Literature, which I developed while studying and teaching in Tübingen, Frankfurt, Basel and now Mainz and in contact with teachers (especially E.A. Schmidt, H. Cancik, J. Dingel, F. Graf, J. Latacz) and the constant *lectura* and *re-lectura* of primary and secondary literature alike the indications in the footnotes can only have an exemplary character.

(a) *Recoding Greek into Latin and Other Turns of the Screw*

Without doubt the recoding of culturally foreign material into native contexts is a phenomenon to be observed all around the Mediterranean, but in the Roman Empire the hybridization and blending of elements of different cultures and periods with elements of one's own context into something new and meaningful seems to be more prominent than in, for instance, Greece. This is due in part to the highly developed culture of memory („*Erinnerungskultur*“) in Rome.

It is remarkable that Italy from at least the 6th century B.C. (even before the beginnings of Latin Literature) came within the Greek world. Therefore Greek culture was not a foreign model adopted from scratch: on the contrary we observe a constant recoding from Greek into Latin and a redefining of issues, making an alien and at the same time familiar culture finally native. In this process Greek culture was not wholly absorbed, substituted or degraded, but existed next to the Roman culture in a double form both as an 'idea' of Greekness, an alternative model of self-expression, and in the guise of still prospering and developing regional cultures in Greece, Asia Minor and the Greek colonies in Italy.

This recoding accompanied literary innovation, taking the Greek system of genres as points of orientation and working material. The Romans themselves called this *vertere* / *vortere* (turning around), which is so much more than just translating *strictu sensu*. Rather it is a creative and contents-based poetic reformulation of ideas and the adaptation of literary strategies in a different language for different purposes and audiences. It has the side-effect of bringing one's own language to perfection. This subjective appropriation made Greek culture, which oscillated between 'foreign' and 'ours', the Romans' own culture.¹²

Along with the *vortere* / *vertere* went a high degree of reflection on literature as literature, focussing on the individual *creator* of the text, labelled with the Greek *poeta*, who imagines himself ostentatiously in the *persona* of the poet (and in other *personae*). Choosing, or better still creating a Greek model for one's own literary production means emphasizing one's own position in the genealogy of literature and one's own perspective as a creative individual. With the free and congenial

¹² A good summary of this process can be found in Schmidt E.A., "Lateinische Philologie als hermeneutische Textwissenschaft", in Schwinge E.R. (ed.), *Die Wissenschaften vom Altertum am Ende des 2. Jahrtausends n. Chr.* (Stuttgart-Leipzig: 1995) 90–115.

translation of the *Odyssey* and Greek and Roman drama by Livius Andronicus, the way was paved for the genuinely Roman-Hellenistic hybridization of genres and forms. Whereas in the *Bellum Punicum* his successor Naevius celebrated Roman history in an epic in Saturnian metre, not long after these auspicious beginnings Ennius with his hexametric *Annales* created the historical master-epic of Rome for a long time to come. This development shows another trait typically Roman, namely the courage to give up unproductive *cul de sacs*, in this case the Saturnian metre, which nonetheless was preserved in the cultural memory as an important intermediate station on the way to Roman literature proper.

A decisive factor in this constant renegotiation and recoding certainly is *mythos*, which due to generally high spatial mobility was the prevailing mode of thinking and self-expression in the Mediterranean.¹³ This should not be confused with the hybrid-cultures of modern post-colonial culture, because in contrast the ‘participating’ cultures in the Mediterranean lived in spacial and cultural proximity to each other and showed remarkable courage in the formation of hybrids, all the more as they were not restricted by fundamentalistic religions.¹⁴ Myth allowed and fostered hybridization of cultural material by its infinite ramification of plots and genealogies. With their basic knowledge of myth and serial patterns of myth production, readers of literature were accustomed to the multiplication and integration of ever-variant versions, a mechanism that could be applied to sundry kinds of cultural production. For example, even genres at a relative thematic distance from myth, such as comedy or Roman love elegy, multiplied their plots in analogy to the mechanisms of production we observe in myth.¹⁵ One should bear in mind that “history” and its protagonists, too, were conceived in terms of myth, not only in historical epic and the *praetextata*, but also in prose histories, as we see it in Livy and his

¹³ Certainly, secondary literature on myth is immense. A good starting-point for the assessment of Roman Literature is: Bettini M., “Le riscritture del mito”, in Cavallo G. – Fedeli P. – Giardina A. (eds.), *Lo spazio letterario di Roma Antica*, Vol. 1: La produzione del testo (Rome: 1989) 15–35.

¹⁴ Cf. Assmann J. (note 9) 163–301, on the differences of Egyptian, Judaic and Greek cultures.

¹⁵ Cf. Bettini, “Riscritture” (note 13). See also my article: “Propertius I 16–18: Narration in a standstill”, in Salzman P. – Lively G. (eds.), *Latin Elegy and Narratology* (Michigan: 2008) 123–141.

archetypal coinage of Roman heroes.¹⁶ This hybridization of myth and literary forms was doubtless provoked by the fact that current problems and discourses will always call for analogous and convincing literary formulations and visualizations.¹⁷

Certainly in Rome this dynamic and infinite renegotiation and appropriation of cultural elements was not limited to Greece, that being only our most prominent paradigm, but operated also in the contact with other cultures such as the Egyptian, Etruscan, Oscan, Gaulish and so on. Furthermore it did function as an intracultural modus between the different social strata in Rome, since in spite of the will to power of single groups, the ideal of harmony and *concordia* prevailed. That this cultural *labor* was taken on by individuals, implied a dynamic, and an infinite process of reflection and changing of contexts. Constant hybridization and amalgamation tore down the wall between high and popular culture, which is perhaps one of the most important preconditions for the enduring cultural productivity of Latin literature beyond the existence of the Roman Empire.¹⁸

(b) *Conditions in Roman Society*

The social constellation of the Late Republic and Early Principate was very auspicious, in spite of the fact that it has to be seen in contrast to the dark and glittering framework of slavery and ambivalent Roman imperialism.¹⁹ From our perspective this excludes idealization, but still it can be noted that in the social structure of the late Roman Republic and the early principate social mobility was possible. Not only could slaves become *liberti* through their own initiative or *manumissio*, we

¹⁶ On the coinage of certain stereotypes in Livy (and Lucan) see Merli E., "Historische Erzählung und epische Technik in Pharsalia 4,581–824", in Walde C. (ed.), *Lucan im 21. Jahrhundert* (Munich-Leipzig: 2005) 111–129.

¹⁷ Cf. the remarks of Schmidt E.A., "Lateinische Philologie" (note 12) 103ss.

¹⁸ A good example is the mime (*mimus*) which—in spite of its original character of street performance or impromptu theatre performance—was elevated to written form and reworked and absorbed in literary genres belonging to 'higher' categories of literature. Cf. Fantham E., "Mime. The missing link in Roman literary history", *Classical World* 82 (1989) 153–163; McKeown J., "Augustan Elegy and Mime", *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society* 205 (1979) 71–84; Horsfall N., "Epic and Burlesque in Ovid met. VIII 266ff", *The Classical Journal* 74 (1979) 319–332.

¹⁹ On the interconnection of sociopolitical factors and Roman literature cf. Habinek Th., *The Politics of Latin Literature. Writing, Identity, and Empire in Ancient Rome* (Princeton: 1998).

can also observe the upward and sometimes downward movement of free citizens: an *eques* could lose his status, a nobleman could be expelled from the senate, and so on. Social mobility was enhanced by the remarkable practice of adoption, which allowed the renewal and expansion at any time of a *familia*'s political influence. Together with the politics of marriage, adoption connected *gentes* in unforeseen and unlikely ways, and transformed the system of *clientelae* into a dark and ever-changing maze.²⁰ Furthermore, the social strata were organized neither along ethnicity nor along a hierarchy of access to erudition. It is a well-known fact that there were highly educated slaves—teachers, scribes, physicians—and rather stupid or uninterested scions of the nobility. Taken together, this—mobility—contributed to social change and the exchange of values, and facilitated the recruitment of new functional élites: after the bloodletting of the civil wars freedmen could immediately take over crucial positions in society.

Even if the producers, multipliers and audiences of literature formed only a rather small group easy, as in later times, to survey, strata not in natural contact with the resources of erudition were not totally excluded. In Rome, erudition was an elitist phenomenon with an intentional trickle-down effect. There seems to have been a consensus that erudition maintained an important role as a means to cohesion in society, with literature especially as medium of communication and self-mythicization, where Roman history is seen as a second set of myths next to Greek mythology.

In the Late Republic, where producers and audiences were part of a dynamic process of expansion,²¹ literary genres for all needs and grades of erudition emerged. During the *Ludi* a larger populace were exposed to erudition in the form of dramatic productions, including *praetextatae*.²² In his *De finibus* (5,52) Cicero reflects upon the salutary effect literature, especially history, has on working people as regards both education and leisure. He opts for an educative, useful and abbreviated

²⁰ Cf. Wiseman T.P., *Catullus and his World. A Reappraisal* (Cambridge: 1985) 15ss., and Kunst C., *Römische Adoption. Zur Strategie einer Familienorganisation*, Frankfurter Althistorische Beiträge 10 (Hefeff: 2005).

²¹ On 'education' of non-élite groups cf. Horsfall N., *The culture of the Roman plebs* (London: 2003).

²² Good starting-points on this topic are Wiseman T.P., *Roman Drama and Roman History* (Exeter: 1998), and Flower H.I., "Fabulae praetextatae in context: When were plays on contemporary subjects performed in Republican Rome?", *Classical Quarterly* 45 (1995) 170–190.

historiography, focussing on striking and edifying *exempla*. Women were no longer only literary *sujets*, but with Ovid or even earlier, were part of the intended public / consumers in their own right of literature. Phaedrus' fables accommodated freedmen, slaves and so on.

A crucial factor was the rhetorical education, which in reality was so much more than speech training: it was an instrument of general education and provided a multifunctional discourse for all public affairs. Furthermore in Rome, rhetoric and philosophy were not so much strictly divided as amalgamated in fruitful coexistence and ingenious hybridization.²³ This was one of the preconditions for the education of larger parts of the populace throughout the Roman empire, and entailed a vast geographical expansion of the system.

(c) *Roma and Imperium Romanum*

Another important presupposition of the spread of Latin literature and its productivity and reception beyond the factual existence of the Empire is its reference to Rome and the Christian transformation of the idea of Rome („*Rom-Idee*“). Apparently, the Christians, too, saw no alternative to Rome. Therefore the unity of the cultural space had greater stability than the political unity.

In Ancient Rome, literature from its beginnings was part of the public discourse, accompanying Rome's rise to world power and contributing in the formation of the idea of Rome, without abdicating criticism in favour of crude panegyrics of the *classe politique* or single outstanding personalities. Though we have testimonies that Ennius was under an obligation to his patron M. Fulvius Nobilior, in his *Annales* the general perspective on an ideal Rome outweighs fulsome panegyric of any individual.

In Rome, the *caput mundi*, poets and prose writers alike invented the ideal image of the “city”, of “urban space” as the essence of all human accomplishments and vices. This image of the city / urban space (in contrast to the rural regions) was elaborated constantly in Western

²³ Cf. the concise article by Cambiano G., “I testi filosofici”, in Cavallo G. – Fedeli P. – Giardina A. (eds.), *Lo spazio letterario di Roma antica*, vol. I: La produzione del testo (Rome: 1989) 241–276.

culture, something that cannot be observed in the same way in for instance the Islamic world.²⁴

After Rome's rise to power, literature did more than focus on the capital, it revelled in the vastness and variety of the *Imperium Romanum* in which languages and cultures coexisted more or less peacefully. The spacial distance to be overcome served as a catalyst of social and literary interaction.²⁵ Drawn from different regions of the Empire, the producers of literature concentrated their creative imagination on Rome, while at the same time enriching Roman literature in its precise sense with the ideas, stories, values and experiences of their native regions. T.P. Wiseman has in this regard exemplified Catullus and the Transpadana.²⁶

In contrast to modern national languages the standard written Latin, kept at an intentional distance from the shape-shifting colloquial language and showing no dialectal differentiation as does High Greek, remained remarkably constant over the centuries, and so did the content conveyed in Latin literature.²⁷ Even today we can learn the Latin of élite literature, which still has the renown, albeit fading, of the ceremonious and the mysterious.

The expansion of the Roman Empire and Romanization did not rely on the total erasure of local and regional structures, and this implies virtually a tendency to multiculturalism. Next to social practices of adoption and marriage, this facilitated again a renewal and exchange of human resources and intellectual potential. This ambivalent integration of conquered peoples was provided or ostentatiously paraded by cultural "cheating packages", in which everyone could find familiar traits and feel integrated or colonized in some way. A prominent example in architecture is the Palatine domus of Augustus, displaying Roman, Etruscan and Egyptian elements, which in combination attain new meanings.²⁸ In Roman wall-paintings, too, we find a blending of heterogeneous material: theatre masks and Egyptian elements are

²⁴ Cf. Edwards C., *Writing Rome. Textual Approaches to the City* (Cambridge: 1996). On the 'fall of Rome'—tradition see Rehm W., *Der Untergang Roms im abendländischen Denken. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Geschichtsschreibung und zum Dekadenzproblem* (Leipzig: 1930; rep. Darmstadt: 1966).

²⁵ Cf. the stimulating essay by Barchiesi A., "Center and Periphery", in Harrison S. (ed.), *A Companion to Latin Literature* (Oxford: 2005) 394–405.

²⁶ Cf. Wiseman T.P., *Catullus* (note 20).

²⁷ Cf. the seminal opus of Curtius E.R., *Europäische Literatur und Lateinisches Mittelalter* (Bern-Munich: 1984, originally 1948).

²⁸ Kreikenbom, D., "Ist dies Iuppiters Haus?" Die Residenz des Augustus zwischen Präsentation und Wahrnehmung", in: Gundlach, R. – Klug, A. (eds.), *Der ägyptische*

integrated into garden landscapes. Again we see the permanent renegotiation, transformation of material and meanings. Similar strategies of 'integration' can be observed also in Roman literature.

In analogy to myth, the ethnic-cultural diversity and vastness of the Roman Empire allowed productive additions and virtual expansion of the cultural horizon. Via *interpretatio Romana*, viz. a shifting of parameters, elements and traits of foreign cultures could be recoded and integrated, a process which was seconded by reciprocal, though less obvious phenomena of the foreign culture to be integrated.²⁹ Yet it is remarkable that in spite of the striking parallels with modern empires, in Ancient Rome we find nothing similar to colonial or provincial literature. As A. Barchiesi³⁰ points out, an explanation for this fact could be that the city of Rome itself played the role of the periphery where culture contacts were normally negotiated. Perhaps, I might suggest, we are confronted with a phase-displaced development. For only after Rome's fall were the former provinces able to produce literatures of their own, in Latin and still in strict reference and orientation to the Latin literature of Ancient Rome. Maybe we could speak of colonial literature on the second level, where the former regions of the *Imperium Romanum* still participated in the Roman imaginaries and in competition with their Roman predecessors. In the post-Roman era the geographic extension of the former empire still offered the opportunity of a regional (French, Germanic, British) and individual elaboration of Roman literature.³¹

Already in Ancient Rome strategies of cultural hybridization that later would become archetypical were developed that went beyond a direct imitation or knowledge of Ancient literature and can still be observed today even in cultures that do not belong in first or second instances to the Anglo-American culture. An example for a globalized *re-scriptura* of a Roman discourse (even if only of limited value to local

Hof des Neuen Reiches. Seine Gesellschaft und Kultur im Spannungsfeld zwischen Innen- und Aussenpolitik (Wiesbaden: 2006) 231–266.

²⁹ In this context I cannot discuss the overall implications of 'Romanization' and 'Romanizing'. Cf. as very good outline of the problem: Hingley R., *Globalizing Roman Culture: Unity, Diversity and Empire* (London: 2005).

³⁰ Barchiesi A., "Center and Periphery" (note 25).

³¹ A good example is the French reception of Caesar's *Bellum Gallicum* and Lucan's *Bellum Civile* (esp. the siege of Massilia). Cf. Leeker J., *Die Darstellung Cäsars in den romanischen Literaturen des Mittelalters*, *Analecta Romanica* 50 (Frankfurt a.M.: 1986).

patriotism) is “*Scontro di civiltà su un ascensore a piazza Vittorio*”, a 2006 novel by the Algerian writer Amara Lakhous,³² who presently lives in Rome. In this novel an Algerian intellectual, searching for an asylum in Rome, tries to find himself a place in the *imaginaire* of Rome by reading Sallustius’ *Bellum Iugurthinum*, thereby focussing especially on the Numidian Prince Bocchus. Though reading the seemingly timeless work from the standpoint of the conquered people, he feels included in and represented by Roman history. It is easy to imagine how the *Bellum Iugurthinum* could be consequently rewritten from the perspective of the vanquished. Indeed, a comparable shift of perspective was realized in early Roman historiography with Q. Fabius Pictor, a Roman historian writing in Greek. By rewriting his Greek and Punic predecessors he focussed the history of the Mediterranean systematically on Rome. Apparently, this turned out a very long-lasting and exemplary form of *vortere / vertere*.

Summing up, in Roman literature we can observe the development of an ever condensing literary-cultural system of significance and meaning. In Ancient Rome, in a very special form, literature is reflecting constantly on innovation and tradition, being at the same time their vehicle.³³ Next to the facts of social history, ‘literary’ tradition functions as the constructional framework of poetry, which—in the words of Wolfgang Iser³⁴—is used and decomposed constantly. Fictionalizing means arranging things anew, which *per se* implies some “added value” vis-a-vis the works which are the source and origin of the details thus transformed and adapted, so that innovation is the inevitable result. Explicitly or implicitly ‘transfer’ is required, forming the frame of one’s own new interpretation. The recipients, too, are asked to imagine their own and ‘new’ versions.

In Rome, the blending of native and alien and generally heterogeneous material is not restricted to artistic creativity. On the contrary, it would not be going too far to suppose a “cultural phantasma” (Castoriadis), as the following and by no means exhaustive examples will show.

³² Lakhous A., *Scontro di civiltà su un ascensore a piazza Vittorio* (Rome: 2006).

³³ Cf. Walde C., “Nach der Katastrophe. Zum Verhältnis von Erinnerung und Innovation in Vergils Aeneis”, in von Müller A. – von Ungern-Sternberg J. (eds.), *Die Wahrnehmung des Neuen in Antike und Renaissance*, Colloquium Rauricum Octavum (Munich-Leipzig: 2004) 41–66 (with bibliography).

³⁴ Cf. Iser W., s.v. “Fiktion / Imagination”, in Ricklefs U. (ed.), *Fischer Lexikon Literatur* (Frankfurt: 2002) vol. 1, 662–679, especially 662–668.

3. *Roman Reflexions on the Composition of Heterogeneous Material*

(a) *Terence, Andria 15ss.: contaminatio*

His critics abuse him for doing this, arguing that it is not right to contaminate plays in this way. But isn't their cleverness making them obtuse? In criticising our author, they are actually criticising Naevius, Plautus, and Ennius, whom he takes as his models, preferring to imitate their carelessness in this respect rather than the critics' own dreary pedantry.³⁵

Doubtless, in most Modern European languages 'contamination', a *terminus technicus* from chemistry and medicine, has a negative sound. Though the origin of this negative bias is to be found in the Terentian passage in question, the unreflective reprojection of the modern meaning has contributed to the negative evaluation not only of early Roman literature but of Roman literature in general. Certainly the Latin *contaminare* has a negative connotation, too, but we should begin by asking for Terence's intentions, who is distancing himself in obvious irony from the "critics" (*isti*). In the prologue to the *Andria* he not only does not condemn himself, but he also sets out his poetic programme and describes human cultural productivity in general. He claims that the plots of comedies and literary creativity follow the principles of myth production: the authors add to their own plots, or the plots they adapt, elements from other comedies or other genres. This results in a mixture of different plots, the adaptation of certain details, scenes, dialogues, jokes, the integration of tragic elements into comedy, not to speak of the blending of genres as in Plautus' *Amphitruo*. In *somma*: far from confessing his own lack of imagination or of good taste or the illicit crossing of 'borders' Terence does no less than describe the palimpsestic character of Roman literature, where the weaving together of material of heterogeneous provenance leads to a innovative condensation of meaning.

³⁵ 'Id isti vituperant factum atque in eo disputant / contaminari non decere fabulas / faciuntne intellegendo ut nil intellegant? / qui quom hunc accusant, Naevium Plautum Ennium / accusant quos hic noster auctores habet, / quorum aemulari exoptat neglegentiam / potius quam istorum obscuram diligentiam'. Translation from Barsby J., *Terence. The woman of Andros; The self-tormentor; The eunuch* (Cambridge (Mass.): 2001).

(b) *New Combinations and Compilations: The Atomic Theory of Lucretius*

In his Epicurean epic, Lucretius did not primarily intend to continue the Roman discourse of flexibility and new combinations of heterogeneous material: with his description of the atomic theory of Democritus and Leucippus his aim was to allay fear and anxiety in his readers.

According to Lucretius, atoms differ from each other in form, extent, taste and so on and in this respect bear certain qualities. The human eye can only perceive them when they have formed one of the manifold combinations in which the original *materia* can appear. These are guided by a dynamic which follows certain principles of cohesion and separation. Though the combinations of certain types of atoms are privileged, they are able to form arbitrary and sometimes unstable constellations. Lucretius explains the laws underlying the durable and ephemeral combinations of atoms with certain *adynata* (2, 700ss.). Precisely by rendering these *adynata* in language, he makes them 'thinkable', gives them an existence as imagined products. He exemplifies the atomic combinations by comparing them to letters and words (1, 823ss.), which allows an equation of atomic theory and literary productivity.

In implicit manner, Lucretius discusses "new combinations" in the guise of his own poetry and his own experiences. For example, he describes his difficulties in rendering Greek words and ideas into Latin (1, 136ss.). He explains his choosing a poetical form for philosophical instruction by reference to the medical practice of coating bitter medicine with honey (4, 1ss.). Here the poet himself constructs a relationship between his theoretical-philosophical statements and his own poetic creativity.

It has long been observed that *De rerum natura* is a blend of heroic and didactic epic: heroic-mythological epic is still present in similes and comparisons conspicuously taken from warfare.³⁶ By this strategy of referring to the readers' own world of experience (including literature), Lucretius surreptitiously instils his philosophical erudition. In so doing, Lucretius follows the 'laws' of Roman Literature, defined by mimesis

³⁶ Cf. Mayer R., "The Epic of Lucretius", in *Papers of the Leeds International Latin Seminar* 6 (1990) 35–43; Murley C., "Lucretius' *De Rerum Natura* Viewed as Epic", *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 78 (1947) 336–346.

and intertextuality, which count among the principal mechanisms of any cultural productivity.

Finally, in Book Five Lucretius expounds how mankind can ameliorate its own condition by observing and imitating nature. A striking example is the grafting of trees, which imitates the combination of atoms on a large scale (5, 1361ss.). These combinations of atoms are the matrix of human productivity in general. In this respect Lucretius' successor is Vergil, who in his *Georgics* chooses to focus only on one of the multiple aspects of the *conditio humana* in his description of Epicurean farming, thus continuing the discourse on "productivity" and new combinations of heterogeneous material.

(c) *Vergil, Georgics II*

At the beginning of *Georgics II* Vergil demonstrates three methods by which trees, that no one would plant on purpose, multiply, juxtaposing these with six artificial methods (22–34). Time and again these verses have attracted the attention of philologists,³⁷ frequently a negative one, because—as experts confirm—next to biologically possible combinations, Vergil names types of grafting which would be easy were they not impossible because the two combined trees are not genetically akin, as for instance apple and pear, beech and chestnut. But Vergil describes horticultural *adynata*, such as grafting pear with elm, plane and apple, plum and acorn. According to Mynors (101), Vergil enumerates these combinations of trees in an 'ascending order of improbability and with a few species named'. In this way, as Thomas (157)³⁸ confirms, the topic of 'cultivation and spontaneity' is continued, which in the *Georgics* is of paramount importance. Again we are confronted with new combinations and juxtapositions of heterogeneous material, which still vouchsafes the recognition of their single elements, but offers a new optical impression, surpassing the single elements. We, the readers, are invited to imagine these trees blooming miraculously with different kinds of blossoms. Vergil stresses that, in imitating nature which produces spontaneously a multitude of trees, man is able to join in this

³⁷ On this passage cf. *exempli gratia*: Thomas R.F. (ed.), *Virgil, Georgics*, vol. 1 (Cambridge: 1988) 157ss.; Leach E.W., "Georgics 2 and the poem", *Arethusa* 14.1 (1981) 35–48; Mynors R.A.B. (ed.), *Virgil, Georgics* (Oxford 1990) 101ss.; Erren M., *P. Vergilius Maro, Georgica*, vol. 2: *Kommentar* (Heidelberg: 2003) 310ss.

³⁸ Thomas, *Georgics* (note 37) 57.

creative process by means of grafting. By inventing and growing new and unseen kinds of trees, in turn he will pave new ways for imitation and perfection, and thereby for unlimited cultural achievements. By fantasizing about forms of grafting that in his time were not possible, Vergil opens a wide realm of possibilities. Language gives 'reality' to the unlikely and draws perspective lines of human cultural productivity.

Even if the pointer *liber* (*libros*, 77, here denoting 'bark' used as writing material) did not appear, the wider context, in which navigation is used as poetological metaphor (40ss.), would refer us to the discourse on literature and the preconditions of cultural activity. Relevant to this topic is the proem to *Georgics* III (1–48), where Vergil gives an account of his own creative process: he determines his position in literary tradition and defines his achievement as the continuation and recoding of intertexts, a process comparable to grafting in agriculture.³⁹

(d) *Seneca, Epistulae morales* 84

In *Epistulae morales* 84, Seneca the Younger, too, discusses programmatically the human production of ideas and thought. In regard to intellectual activity (of which writing verse is a subcategory) he defines innovation as the new combination or composition of existing ideas or intertexts, which are the working material. In this context he uses the metaphor of digestion and the production of honey, highlighting combination and composition as *insigne* of any form of cultural activity.⁴⁰ The emphasis on *labor* and new combination is realistic. We cannot fully appreciate this because the modern, sometimes delusional myth of originality blocks our view.

(e) *Mnemonics*

Rhetorical mnemonic as outlined by Quintilian and other rhetoricians⁴¹ points in a slightly different though analogous direction. By means of

³⁹ *Georgics* 3, 1–48: by a *recusatio* not to follow or imitate certain models (e.g. 19: *lucos Molorchii* implies Callimachus), Vergil nonetheless keeps his intertexts present—here reused and negated at the same time.

⁴⁰ On this aspect, see Walde C., "Katastrophe" (note 33), esp. 16 (with further references).

⁴¹ The relevant texts are *Rhet. ad Herennium* 3,16, 28ss; Cicero, *De oratore* 2, 351ss., Quintilian, *Inst. Orat.* 11, 2, 6ss. On the ancient practice of mnemotechnics cf. Müller F.L., *Kritische Gedanken zur antiken Mnemotechnik und zum Auctor ad Herennium*

an elaborate technique, texts are transformed into sign language: putting heterogeneous, even disparate elements in a certain place (*topos / locus*) is used to remember linguistic statements, e.g. orations. Certainly this codified *mneme* is a sort of thought-production on a second level, because the image-text cannot be considered a piece of artistic production in its own right (it could be labelled “secondary artistic work” in analogy to “secondary scripturality” as presented for instance in the Roman *commentarii*). Nevertheless, they are a sort of instruction for the use or description of the imagination’s ability to juxtapose heterogeneous material in a meaningful manner.

In the next section I will briefly exemplify this practice of ‘hybridization’ and new combination with reference to the historical epic in Rome.

4. *Literary Hybridization in Rome: The Example of Historical EpicLife Imitating Art; Art Imitating Life....*

From its beginning Roman historical epic is a phenomenon of hybridization. Because of its contact with actuality, the constant integration of heterogeneous elements is at its core, be it the dimension of Roman politics and history (with a generally positive but not exclusively panegyric attitude), be it the description of the enemies in eternal wars, not to speak of literary aspects. Considering this potential for innovation, to insist on Hellenistic historical epic as the model for Roman historical epic seems somewhat shallow.

This mythicization or fictionalization of history, which could not stray too far from the historical facts, has serialization and continuation as its preconditions. It is as endless as is history itself. This implies the forging of stereotypes and a certain depersonalization of the historical protagonists,⁴² even if in some cases this is outweighed by the individualization of the narrator, who plays the role of the eyewitness (Ennius, Naevius, Cicero and, in a different way, Lucan).

(Stuttgart: 1996); for further implication of this mode of imagination cf. Krovoza A., s.v. “Mnemotechnik / Mnemonik”, *Der Neue Pauly* 15.1, 463–481.

⁴² On mythicization of history (though in the context of the *praetextatae*) cf. Schmidt P.L., “Die Poetisierung und Mythisierung der Geschichte in der Tragödie ‘Octavia’”, *ANRW II* 32.2 (1985) 1421–1453.

The predictability of the genre and its contents, set as a standard by the glorious *archegetai* Naevius and Ennius, did not lead to any sudden end, but the vitality of its beginning faded soon enough. Definitely there was a *decorum* as to how contemporary history could be depicted. This is a problem that can be observed even more acutely in the ephemeral poetic glorification of Roman feats, in the *praetextata*. To this Cicero is witness: he narrates that a *praetextata* commissioned by Balbus, with Balbus as protagonist and the real Balbus as spectator in the audience, and went far beyond the limits of good taste.⁴³ But it was no other than Cicero himself who gave new impulses to historical epic by refusing to adhere to this *decorum*. In his own historical epics he introduced himself simultaneously as the narrator and the object of narration, thereby creating a sort of hybrid between an autobiographical sketch and a historical epic. We might dismiss this as simply bad taste, but—seen historically—the stress on the perspective of a first person narrator, who seems to be a real person, was an important step in the development of literary self-consciousness. Not by chance do we find similar strategies in the didactic epic *De rerum natura* of Cicero's contemporary Lucretius. Henceforth in very different genres, among them all types of epics, we find an advanced role-playing game of narrators posing as "I". In the *Aeneid*, too, in a superb and complex mirror technique and inversion of chronology, Vergil's Aeneas tells the story of his life—the story of a man who through the Trojan war has lost his home, his existence, his cultural and individual memory. Even if the situation of storytelling conjures up the analogous situation of the *Odyssey*, Aeneas' story has an existential dimension totally different from the *Apologoi* of Ulysses. As Ernst August Schmidt⁴⁴ has convincingly shown, in forging his protagonist Vergil takes profit from historical epic with its mythicization of Roman history. Aeneas is not only a condensation of literary mythical heroes such as Achilles and Hector, he is also a condensing prefiguration of several powerful personalities of later and contemporary Roman history. Even if he declined to write an historical epic featuring Augustus, in Aeneas and other minor protagonists of the *Aeneid* he makes Roman history intelligible. By this 'condensation' Vergil avoids the diffusion of his epic plot, which is

⁴³ Cicero, *Ad Fam.* 10, 32 (letter to Asinius Pollio).

⁴⁴ Schmidt E.A., "Vergils Aeneis als augusteische Dichtung", in Rüpke J. (ed.), *Von Göttern und Menschen erzählen. Formkonstanzen und Funktionswandel vormoderner Epik* (Stuttgart: 2001) 65–92.

rendered rather unstable by the double perspective on his own present and the mystic future of an eternal Rome. It cannot be ignored that in the *Aeneid* material of differing provenance and temporal dimensions are juxtaposed and blended. This is obviously paraded in the descent to the Underworld (book 6), the *ekphrasis* of the Shield (book 8) or the story of the Vergilian 'Odyssey' in book 3.

Vergil's design received some very malicious reviews, too. In this respect the Nobel prize winner Joseph Brodsky is representative. He imputes to the Mantuan a rational rather than a really poetic inspiration, designing a "super-epic" bound to succeed by strategically combining all 'catchy' elements (journey, war and loss of home, successful and 'tragic' heroes, story of a doomed love, temptation, visions of a bright future etc.).⁴⁵ What is true is that the poet from Mantova has created a recognizable matrix easy to imitate, which could be adopted by Roman epicists such as Silius Italicus and writers of later epochs up to our own time. It is not Vergil's fault if he came into discredit by being imitated.

In his *Bellum Civile*, and eighty years after Vergil's *Aeneid*, Lucan describes an internal Roman conflict in terms of a world war. By means of a further shifting of the parameters of key traditions, his epic hybridization reaches an even more advanced level. Along with references, the *Aeneid* attains the position of a day residue and dream material (to speak in terms of Freud's *Interpretation of Dreams*), which has to be used because of the considerations of representability and the inescapable nature of intertextuality.⁴⁶ The associations with single explicit texts or with the epic key-traditions were not only unavoidable in the producers' mind, but also determine the recipients' perception and interpretation of the epic. It is typical of Lucan's literary technique that his *Bellum Civile* evokes models (in the sense of Genette's 'architextuality') via associations rather than reworking precise single texts which have provided a mechanism of literary production readily 'reusable' by later authors.⁴⁷

The mere fact that there is a temporal gap between the process of writing and the historical events described—the end of one political

⁴⁵ Cf. Brodsky J., *On Grief and Reason* (New York: 1995) ('Letter to Horace').

⁴⁶ See below part 5, p. 35.

⁴⁷ On Lucan's generic 'epicity' see Maes Y., "Starting something huge: Pharsalia I 183–193 and the Virgilian Intertext", in Walde C. (ed.), *Lucan im 21. Jahrhundert* (Munich-Leipzig: 2005) 1–25.

order and the formation of another—necessarily led to a new definition of epic and historical epic especially. The uncertain political conditions of the final phase of the republic and the formation of the principate bore down directly or indirectly, as innovations, on literary form and content. To be precise: the critical reflection on a dramatic man-made disaster resulted in a qualitatively and quantitatively visible enrichment of meaning, and in a certain courage to break things down into component elements. In this process poetry participated actively and reactively in the societal discourse, but went a third way, because literature as “fictitious space” enables human experimental action (‘Probehandeln’). Therefore it does not surprise us that Lucan refers to the constitution of ‘Republican’ Rome only in a very vague and ‘quotational’ form, while stylizing the political conflict to mere personal and profitable conflict of individuals and the masses. Considering the general diffusion and dissolution of governmental regulation, the epicist may have been very clear-sighted in his poetic analysis.

At the same time Lucan’s engaged narrator promotes visualization and active imagination of the poetically generated ‘historical’ events. In this respect he seems to follow the steps of Vergil’s narrator in the finale of the first book of the *Georgics*, who is very much preoccupied with the Civil Wars.⁴⁸ Even if it was not Lucan’s intention to describe historical reality, nonetheless he ‘connected’ with the Civil Wars fought long before in an intertextual-poetical manner. By reinforced literarization Lucan enables his contemporary recipients to understand these events intuitively, while at the same time investing them with ‘timelessness’. By this poetic framing, the Civil War, which in historical reality could not be avoided for political and social reasons, attains an almost tragic inevitability. Because the *Bellum Civile* offers a psychologically plausible specimen of escalating human aggression, it was used as a literary matrix for the description of similar conflicts occurring in later times.

Next to the innovative voice of his narrator, Lucan makes use of a congenial confusing intertextuality to visualize and imitate the conflict. He creates unexpected and confusing junctures and short-circuits. Not only does he double many episodes (e.g. the speeches of the *imperatores*), he evokes “latent content” connecting his protagonists at a less obvious level.

⁴⁸ Especially *Georgics* 1, 399–514.

In a potent stylization he reduces his features of the historical actors—individuals or masses—to absolutely basic structures, forging his poetic protagonists in analogy to certain models of myth. Thus incorporated in the realm of literature, his protagonists could serve as *exempla* and stereotypes in the description of similar conflicts and contexts.⁴⁹ With their connection to mythical structures these historico-literary figures become more and more polysemantic and open to diffuse interpretations, while at the same time paradoxically they grow more and more intelligible. In literature, historical personalities are necessarily described in an ambivalent way, because they will always call for verification with historical reality *and* with the literary matrices on which they are modelled. For instance, Pompey, a formerly victorious *imperator* dying a shameful death, evokes the matrix ‘Agamemnon’. But so does Caesar, the victorious *imperator*, who meets a violent death after his return home. As a godlike man, whose destiny is constructed from its end (violent death with ensuing apotheosis), he also evokes the model ‘Herakles’. This does not exclude that Caesar, Pompey and Cato are characterized in contrast with and parallel to Alexander the Great. It is a known fact that the historical Pompeius Magnus identified with Alexander the Great, and Lucan reminds us of this every time he uses his *cognomen* Magnus. In the *Bellum Civile* this is extended to Caesar and Cato, a strategy that renders the three of them ambivalent, as the Macedonian is himself a figure that attracts disparate interpretations. Furthermore Caesar and Pompey bear traits of Aeneas, Hector, Achilles, Turnus and Hannibal (and others), and they are interchangeable to a certain extent as each of them evokes the other’s historical counterpart. For example, the narrator imagines the funeral Pompey never will get in the way that Caesar’s historical funeral took place.⁵⁰ The past and future of Caesar, the pivot of all these strategies, are proper to him, that is, to the historical Caesar, but reduced to certain essential and easily recognizable facts incorporated in a poetically generated literary *Vita*.⁵¹

As the history of the *Bellum Civile*’s reception shows, with his Caesar Lucan has created the powerful archetype of the grandiose, dazzling,

⁴⁹ Cf. the contribution of Barchiesi in this volume (starting on page 41).

⁵⁰ E.g. the burial Cordus cannot give Pompey (8, 729ss.: pyre on the Forum, mourning populace etc.) is, as we know, the one Caesar was accorded.

⁵¹ On Lucan’s Caesar, cf. Walde C., “Lucan’s Caesar and the reception of the *Bellum Civile*”, in Wyke M. (ed.), *Julius Caesar in Western Culture* (Oxford: 2006) 45–61.

and violent genius. His contribution to literature does not end with this poetical mythopoeia, but by singing about a civil war he has shifted, or was obliged to shift, certain parameters of key epic traditions. The product was a work of art *sui generis* which, with further shifting of parameters, became the model for other works of literature generating new myths on the basis of history. Yet only a few years after the *Bellum Civile*, an epic without gods or goddesses as protagonists, Silius Italicus unexpectedly composed an historical epic in Homeric style, thereby in a certain sense filling the poetic gap left by his predecessor Lucan.

As historical epic and other poetic products of Roman and later literatures show, it is not possible to reconstruct this constant generation of literature and forms of literature (or in more abstract terms, of meaning in and after Classical Antiquity) retrospectively in a waterproof way, nor is its future phenotype predictable. Yet it can still be continued and repeated beyond language barriers in our times and beyond.

A history of literature which might seek to assess the constant-incessant *vortere* and re-formulation, these ever-new combinations of ideas, would have to mirror the dynamics and infinite potential. It could not be organized around authors, nor genres nor epochs. But to conceptualize a history of literature, that goes beyond the 'Classical' Latinity, we have to imagine the space of Graeco-Roman, especially Latin Literature, and its descendants. Even if we restrict our perspective to the *Latinitates* (eclipsing vernacular literature), this task is difficult enough.

5. Perspectives: Roman Dream Works

Latin literature is a vast *laboratorium* of ideas, motifs, *topoi*, genres, forms and so on. The necessity of formulating his own intentions, as well as the contemporary discourses and problems, compelled the poet to make use of vague-clear references to intertexts in the sense of key traditions and of intentional allusion to certain authors.⁵²

⁵² On allusion and intertextuality a convenient starting point is Conte G.B. – Barchiesi A., "Imitazione e arte allusiva. Modi e funzioni dell' intertestualità", in Cavallo G. – Fedeli P. – Giardina A. (eds.), *Lo spazio letterario di Roma antica*, vol. I: La produzione del testo (Rome: 1989) 81–114; Perri C., "On alluding", *Poetics* 7 (1978) 289–301; Fowler D., "On the Shoulders of Giants. Intertextuality and Classical Studies", *Materiali e discussioni* 39 (1997) 13–34.

In a continuity which still persists, writers of later times could choose their model from this *laboratorium* of poetic programmes and motifs, as the Romans in their turn had created their models.⁵³ Next to innovative aspects such as the emergence of literary models and ever more advanced forms of self-expression, this has led to *exempla*-traditions, serial production stereotypes, even *kitsch*. Indeed a vast amount of learned *kitsch* of all periods has been accumulated. This is nothing new, certainly. Single aspects, such as the history and use of certain motifs, literary figures, *sujets* are the material we describe and analyse in case studies, as suggested by Ernst Robert Curtius in his magisterial *European Literature and Latin Middle Ages* of 1948.⁵⁴ This is fruitful and necessary. But what we lack is an *instrumentarium*, also the terminology to describe this rhizome, this constant and unpredictable continuation of the literary hermeneutic heritage. To my mind it is not done with periodization and by baptizing the different periods with catchword terminology such as ‘Golden Latinity’, ‘classicism’, ‘archaism’, because this has a more obscuring than elucidating effect as the terms imply value judgments. If we want to go beyond Classical Antiquity to the later *Latinitates*, insurmountable difficulties arise.

An adequate *instrumentarium* would have to take into consideration among other factors:

- the process of production and reception of literature;
- the process of fictionalization, which means the discrepancy between our perception of reality and its representation in fictional products (especially focussing on the alterity of the “I” who is someone different even if written in the first person. It should also take account of the literary depiction of borderline states of mind such as dream and delusion, or certain perspective speech-forms such as letters, first person-narrative and soliloquy where this discrepancy is a central topic).
- allusion, and the transformation and diffusion of motifs, genres etc. into new and different contexts;
- the mingling of heterogeneous elements and material in new contexts as described above.

⁵³ On the concept of ‘models without copies’ see Alessandro Barchiesi, *Copies without models. Hellenization and Augustan Poetry*, Jerome Lectures March / April 2003 at the American Academy Rome [so far unedited].

⁵⁴ Curtius E.A., *Europäische Literatur und Lateinisches Mittelalter* (note 27).

- the limitlessness of this production and its interpretation, by providing at the same time an analytical framework.

Rhetorical terminology and concepts such as tropes (such as metonymy, metaphor, and personification) might be sufficient to explain the function of allusion in a single passage or work or of the transformation of a genre, but rhetoric is not an adequate model for the description of the whole process. To date, there is only one model for describing this process of continuation and ramification of Latin literature, and its reception and *re-scriptura* in the vernacular languages, that meets several of the needs: Freud's *Interpretation of Dreams* (1900).⁵⁵ Useful here are the proximity of the idea of dream work to rhetorical concepts and mnemotechnics. Furthermore Freud takes a view not only of the individual with his conscious and subconscious participation in creative processes, but also of the quasi-universally valid principles that lead to the product submitted to interpretation.

Already in my *Habilitationsschrift*⁵⁶ I have reused some of the concepts and terminology of experimental dream research, and of Freud's psychoanalytical interpretation of dreams. In an appendix to modern and ancient methods of dream interpretation, I deal there with Macrobius' commentary on Cicero's *Somnium Scipionis*. His interpretation of the *Somnium* according to the very abstract criteria of ancient dream interpretation could have been a guiding paradigm of hermeneutics in texts of all kind. Even if his main concern is with interpreting the text, Macrobius in his choice of certain 'dream materials' refers to the part of the producer, viz. how he combines and juxtaposes elements of the text. Using Freud's *Interpretation of Dreams* in a similar way would add a dimension of timelessness to the interpretation of texts, by extending at the same time the spectrum of texts limited by Macrobius to philosophical epistemology.

The structural equivalent of the dream narrative, giving access to the dream only perceptible to the dreamer, is the single work of literature,

⁵⁵ Freud S., *Die Traumdeutung*, Studienausgabe Bd. 2 (Frankfurt: 1972 = Standard Edition vols. 4 / 5). Indispensable for definitions and translations of psychoanalytical terminology: Pontalis J. – Laplanche J.B., *Vocabulaire de la Psychoanalyse* (Paris: 1976) (translated in all major European languages).

⁵⁶ Walde C., *Traumdarstellungen in der griechisch-römischen Dichtung* (Munich-Leipzig: 2001).

whereas the literary production can be seen as a serial dream common to many individuals, as a sort of constant dream and fantasy-production.⁵⁷

As with a dream image in a work of literature, the inner and exterior reality of its creator will be discernible, but transformed by condensation and displacement. When dealing with literature this dichotomy of inner and exterior reality must be extended to the difference from, and integration of, other literary works, which 'preserved' via intertextuality.

Indeed, in a work of art the representative connection of inner and exterior reality is forged by a third factor, by intertextuality and by recurring sign-systems such as epic *Bauformen*, theatre metaphors, divination, myths, gestures and the like. In recourse to this treasury of language, topics and motifs, made available by intertextuality, the *memoria* collected by individuals and groups is represented vicariously by a common literary *memoria*. In European culture dream and literature were submitted to methods of interpretation excluding unidirectional readings (e.g. allegory, multiple interpretations of the Bible, "mehrfacher Schriftsinn" etc.), which in turn have had and still have an effect on further artistic production and the formation of ideas.

The process of artistic creativity by which the imaginary-virtual product (i.e. the literary work of art) emerges, which Freud calls 'dream work', is determined by intertextuality (in general), concrete imitation of certain texts, and imagination held at bay by 'censure' (form and *decorum*) and individuality. The analogy of the work of art to dream narratives also extends to the fact that the artist performs the continuous appropriation and transformation more or less consciously. We may suspect unconscious parts, but whereas it is not possible to recognize them to the full, we can take account of our own reactions.

The latent dream thoughts have their equivalent in all contexts evoked by the work of art, including the recipients' interpretations. Censure is present in 'form' (e.g. metrics), the literary genres and their exigencies, the unavoidable nature of intertextuality and the culturally determined *decorum*. Whereas giving up certain forms and rules of genre can have an innovative effect, on the other hand form and conscious-unconscious reference to predecessors serve as a background for illuminating more clearly one's own intentions.

⁵⁷ Already Freud regarded dreaming as a form of thinking (cf. Freud, S., *Die Traumdeutung* (1900), Studienausgabe vol. 2 (Frankfurt: 1972) 486).

Of special usefulness are the concepts 'considerations of representability' as well as 'day residue' / dream materials. In the case of literature, non-literary experiences, such as visual ones, are to be included. Whereas Freud defines 'considerations of representability' as the choice of material according to the wish that needs to be expressed, in regard to a work of literature it is the literary formulation of an idea or problem that calls for representative expression. This formulation must be adequate to the idea expressed, and has to be intelligible to a third party, the potential recipients. In arriving at the formulation anything can be used as day residue and dream material, next to individual experiences, motifs, genres, figures, situations, gestures etc. The creative power of the artist can join disparate elements in associative short-circuits and unexpected new meanings. In this meaningful coexistence of elements belonging to different temporal levels their former contexts and contents are rarified, but remain recognizable (Freud's 'topographical model'). The new combination, the 'hybridization' of an 'old' idea, which is borrowed with an idea of immediate interest, allows the ancient and modern recipient alike to add his own intellectual and cultural short-circuits. Certainly in this process of constant transformation the debits, too, must be taken into account, viz. what was not exploited or consciously dropped at certain times, to be taken up unexpectedly at a later time. We cannot decide whether the exclusion and marginalization of certain facts was based on a conscious decision or the prevalence of other factors.

Latin literature (and its descendents) forms a rhizome space, in which many of these re-uses and unexpected hybridizations take place. It was due to this rhizome nature that it could react to, for instance, several changes of constitution and radical transformations of the religious system.

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CHAPTER THREE

EXEMPLARITY: BETWEEN PRACTICE AND TEXT

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The generous programme of this book requires many of us to give up some of our specialist privilege and vested interests, and to try to confront a *longue durée* perception of Latin studies. This is a conceptual experiment that has been familiar to students of Greek culture for some time now, and can have a positive effect on Latinitas as well—although our experiment is a little more daring, since the Roman empire fell so much earlier than Byzantium, and no agreement exists about periodization. But perhaps the value of the experiment is precisely in trying to imagine a continuity that does not have a specific and agreed modern deadline, or a dramatic Endpunkt, so that Latinitas, just like Hellenicity, is not over yet.

In this experimental context, I have to say that my previous experience suggests that at least one area of interest repays attention. If we want to focus on continuity and on appropriation as fundamental aspects of the Latin tradition, the concepts that come to mind immediately are *exemplum* and exemplarity. The advantages of this choice are manifold, at least potentially: although the only secure reward is that of offering some food for thought to scholars of Medieval and early modern Europe: I claim no thorough coverage nor originality for this paper.

- (i) *Exempla* are a connective between the cultural productions of Antiquity and the Middle Ages. They are resilient and survive many changing environments. They can replicate themselves like computer viruses, and have a new lease of life as small portable narrative units or as modes of expression adaptable to various contexts or rather as thicker units of form and content, expressing ethical and political imitation. *Exempla* are not exclusive to verbal communication, because their presence in art is significant and often analyzed, and they straddle the division between textual production and cultural practice—in fact this link between what happens to texts and what

happens to cultural discourse in the light of exemplarity will be my main topic. Obviously *exempla* are also able to connect pre-Christian and Christian culture, and this is crucial for our purpose. In spite of the new religious atmosphere, the practice of *exempla* remains central, for example in preaching and schooling in the Middle Ages: on the one hand we have a cultural practice that remains active even when it is severed from its contents and reduced to forms of expression, so that the *exempla* traditions survive into the images and biographies of the Saints after those of consuls and generals; on the other hand, Medieval culture has the remarkable flexibility of accepting a double level of exemplarity: side by side with Christian exemplarity, we have a continuous flow of images and texts about pagan *virī illustres* and *auctores*. So this tradition embraces both adaptation and recuperation of the past. It was not unavoidable as a consequence, no matter how we tend to take it for granted now, and so it deserves re-examination.

- (ii) This two-tier exemplarity is crucial for the continuity of European culture and the transmission of past models. It is important to stop for a moment and ask why it had to be so. One answer must be that Roman culture had always been saturated with exemplarity, indeed with a two-tier exemplarity. From the earliest times of the Republic, we find celebration of individual Roman achievements combined with attention to exemplary Greek figures from the past. If we refer to cultural practice rather than to literature, we can find illustrations of this approach from the earliest days of the Republic onward. If we consider the use of honorific statues in public locations as an indicator of exemplarity, there is evidence of honorific statues for Greek individuals such as Pythagoras, or Harmodius and Aristogiton, in an urban setting not yet regularly punctuated by statues of Roman statesmen and generals. This alone is good evidence for the spread of a mental habit whereby Roman culture includes the exemplarity and celebration of Greek, not only Roman models (as well as the exclusion of all other source cultures!). This bicultural strategy of exemplarity is crucial to the appropriation of Rome in European history, because appropriating Roman *exempla* entails confronting a tradition where Roman identity consists of itself plus the appropriation of Greek models, from another culture and another time. This is a very promising theatre when Christian culture has to decide what to do with the Roman heritage: the creation of a category of 'Roman exempla' entails acceptance of a

tradition that is already loaded with baggage. Similarly, the rhetorical tradition in the Middle Age takes into account the Aristotelian theory of *paradeigmata* as well as the Roman practice of persuasion through exemplarity.

We should not be surprised to find that the language of Roman exemplarity has recourse to the Greeks in order to fulfil and inculcate its persuasive function. Consider in this context what happens to the hero of the *Aeneid* when he decides to deliver to his only son the message of exemplarity required from a model of Roman fatherhood. It is one of his rare utterances addressed especially to Iulus in the poem (and the son in turn has never spoken to his father in direct voice):

*Learn valour from me, my son, and true toil; / Fortune from others. Today my hand will shield / you in war and lead you to great rewards: / see to it, when later your years have grown to ripeness, / that you remember, and, as you recall the example set by your kinsmen, / that your father Aeneas and your uncle Hector stir your soul.*¹

If Iulus wants to access the *exempla tuorum* in the future, he will have to learn and memorize the authentic expression of his father's life experience—that is, one famous tag from one of the most admired canonical texts of Greece, Sophocles' *Ajax* (the words in italics, already appropriated in Roman Republican tragedy: the tragedy had also been translated by Octavian). Apparently Aeneas needs Sophocles if he wants to kick-start his didactic message, and try to deliver to Iulus the *Aeneid* in a nutshell.

The *exempla* tradition is for us inseparable from a certain perception of the conservative and self-perpetuating habit of Roman society. Therefore we are often tempted to exaggerate the conservatism implicit in repetition of *exempla* from the distant past. Yet Maurizio Bettini² has pointed out one important caveat: Roman society was more dynamic than its different interest groups at various stages were ready to admit or even appreciate; it was a 'warm' society parading itself as 'cold', and

¹ Virg. *Aen.* XII 435–40: '*disce, puer, uirtutem ex me uerumque laborem, / fortunam ex aliis. nunc te mea dextera bello / defensum dabit et magna inter praemia ducet. / tu facito, mox cum matura adoleuerit aetas, / sis memor et te animo repetentem exempla tuorum / et pater Aeneas et auunculus excitet Hector*'. Translation from Rushton Fairclough H. (ed. and transl.) – Goold G.P. (rev.), *Virgil: Eclogues; Georgics; Aeneid I–VI* (Cambridge (Mass.): 2001).

² Bettini M., *Le orecchie di Hermes* (Turin: 2000) 240–92.

there were vested interests in play whenever this strategy was enacted. Bettini formulates this idea when dealing with the *mos maiorum*, an area visibly crucial for the formulation and transmission of *exempla*. Bettini also cautions that the *mos maiorum* was never 'legible' in its entirety as a text would have been: there was no 'book' for the civilization of *mores*, and no steady relationship of textuality to practice. If this is true of *mores* it must also be true of *exempla*. Yet in the perspective of this book, we are dealing with long-distance survival, and it would be impossible not to mention the vital importance of texts (even for recreations in the visual arts of Romance and early modern Europe). Nor are those texts necessarily the most central to the canon of Roman letters: a canon of *exempla*-making texts should for example privilege Cornelius Nepos, Varro's lost works and their influence, Valerius Maximus, Pliny the Elder, Plutarch and his enormous influence, Suetonius; and among canonical texts of ancient Rome, Livy more than the Augustan poets. In any case, the effect of those texts was massive, and reinforced the idea that Rome was a society where the production and maintenance of *Wertbegriffe* was a shared project of acculturation, education and identity politics.

Still, the cumulative effect of references to past exemplarity in Roman letters is so uniform, that we are always at risk of underrating moments of conflict and irony. Just as the *mos maiorum* was always open to contradiction and negotiation, even to improvisation and dissent, so the value and function of the *exempla* was a field of tensions, not a sealed airtight time capsule. Take as a test case the much-quoted fragment of Ennius: 'The Roman state is founded on its ancient mores, and men'.³

The text is for us a fragment without a context, and frequently it has been taken to mean that Ennius wanted to underwrite and appropriate the authority of Roman family tradition in order to compose a very authoritative text. The *Annales* then, to generalize further, would be a macrotext of exemplarities, and we do know that for a while Ennius did achieve the ambitious goal of providing a master-text for Roman values. So far so good—but if we ask a question about what the narrative context in Ennius might have looked like, we end up with the likely conclusion that the famous sentence was uttered by T. Manlius Torquatus Imperiosus, the magistrate infamous for having his own son

³ Enn. *Ann.* 156 Sk.: 'moribus antiquis res stat Romana virisque'.

executed on the battlefield.⁴ In other words, the line assuredly achieved exemplarity and was much repeated and quoted, but its original context was far from uncontroversial. Quintilian confirms that Torquatus was a famous example, but not one that would easily commemorate unproblematic perpetuation of ancient values: his unpacking of the example is *Manlius virtutem filii morte multavit* (*Inst.* V 11, 6). By re-enacting the binding force of *mores antiqui*, old Torquatus had created an example of perpetually conflicting opposites, more like the conflict of Creon and Antigone than any assertion of self-evident *virtus* as the standard.

The other factor that guarantees a long life to the *exempla* tradition is that Romans had learnt how to use it to balance the respective claims of individual and society. Indeed one of the main factors that promotes admiration for the Romans in later times is their peculiar mix of individualism and collectivism. The *exempla* tradition works very well to connect those two areas.

On the one hand it is by definition all about individuals, and the origins of the tradition must have something to do with attempts to appropriate certain values and symbols by rising 'families' and recently empowered 'genealogies', especially when the city of Rome begins to have enough symbolic and material capital to distribute among powerful clans and families.⁵ On the other hand exemplarity is by definition redistributive and shared by a collective: already by the time of Ennius it is clear that the reproduction of *exempla* is a collective business and has dividends for all the participants, not just for descendants and affiliates, patrons and protégés.

Then we should be open to see imitation as the vital link between literature and culture in Rome. When he wants to sum up the function of Aeneas as an example of *pietas*, and a founding father of religious *mores*, Ovid recurs to a phrasing—*idoneus auctor*—that will become a shortcut for the authority of past literature in Medieval culture: and of course the *idoneus auctor*, in Ovid's generation, is Vergil as well as Aeneas and, for that matter, Augustus: 'Aeneas, fit patron of piety, brought this custom / to your land, just Latinus'.⁶

⁴ Skutsch O., *The Annals of Quintus Ennius* (Oxford: 1986) 317–8, on the bearing of the line on military discipline, and the reworking of the Ennian model in Livy.

⁵ For this approach cf. Habinek Th., *The Politics of Latin Literature* (Princeton: 1998).

⁶ *Ov. fast.* II 543–4: 'hunc morem Aeneas, pietatis idoneus auctor, / attulit in terras, iuste Latine, tuas'.

If we interrogate contemporary research as to how to classify *exempla*, we end up with a polarity of concepts: the illustrative / injunctive polarisation. The example can be viewed as a more or less neutral specimen of a category, or as an object endowed with active properties, of suasion or dissuasion. The key text is perhaps Festus 72 Lindsay, who attempts to keep the two *functions* distinct by pinning them on different but *cognate* words: '*Exemplum* is what we follow or avoid. *Exemplar* is what similarity is based on. The former we assess with our minds, the latter with our eyes'.⁷

A related polarity in the study of *exempla* is the couple same / different, because *eximo* can imply either 'to take away from a series' an object that stands out and requires separate consideration—here the example becomes what we call 'exception' (itself a derivative of the almost synonymous verb *excipere*: on 'eccezione' and 'exemplum' see the influential theorizing by Agamben);⁸ taken this way the *exemplum* will remain unique; or 'to take away from a series' because what we need is one representative, one *échantillon*, or a *pars pro toto*, and what we want is to regenerate a series and continue a past process of reproduction.

So the antithesis and reconciliation between the one and the many is vital to the entire tradition, and we can easily glimpse political implications for Roman republican society, with its perpetual struggle of egalitarian and competitive aspirations. There is an analogy here with the practice of literary imitation because literary imitation not only consists of a play of similarity and difference (like the semiotics of example—and also like nearly everything else) but more specifically because literary imitation also has two different, but almost never totally separated trends, respectively concerned with uniqueness and with seriality: the first is one-on-one reproduction, the second is using an abstract model as a matrix for new products differentiated by surface variations; the first has been in fact called by some critics 'modello esemplare', and the second 'modello-codice' or 'modello genere'.⁹

⁷ 'Exemplum est quod sequamur aut vitemus. Exemplar ex quo simile faciamus. Illud animo aestimatur, istud oculis conspicitur'.

⁸ Agamben G., *Homo sacer. Il potere sovrano e la nuda vita* (Turin: 1995).

⁹ Conte G.B. – A. Barchiesi, "Imitazione e arte allusiva. Modi e funzioni dell' intertestualità", in G. Cavallo et al. (eds.), *Lo spazio letterario di Roma antica I* (Rome: 1989) 81–114 (using a Genettian approach).

In the mainstream of the *exempla* tradition, the individual example is both 'unique' and 'representative': if appropriation is envisaged, it cannot be absolutely unique, otherwise the example could not have exhortatory force because too divorced from reality; however, it cannot be fully interchangeable with other instances, otherwise it would lose interest for the audience.

This is of course a problem that Christian preachers and thinkers have long meditated, the potential for exhortation and imitation of a unique story told in the Gospels. But the problem is not extraneous to the Roman tradition either, because we can observe a certain surplus of activity, a heating up of the production of *exempla*, in connection with deep political change: a change that occurs when politically normative discourse tries to accommodate a drift from pluralistic competition towards a model of veiled autocracy. In the old Republican tradition, exemplary heroes were not inaccessible, but had a message of imitation and even, *à la limite*, of replaceability and substitution. This would explain why the Roman politicians who are most active on the exemplary front are Cicero and Augustus, who operate within the crisis of Republican exemplarity and try to exploit it to their own ends. With Cicero, we are fortunate enough to be able to witness a process whereby a man who wanted to set active *exempla* through action and writing was quickly turned into a dead *exemplum* by the declamation tradition,¹⁰ into a real and active *exemplum* by the energetic monopoly of the *princeps*,¹¹ and into an aesthetic (that is, half-dead) example by Quintilian.¹²

At this stage of the argument it must be admitted that what is most important in the *exempla* tradition is its long-distance continuity, and yet, as is typical of our studies in general, what attracts the most attention is the points and junctures of crisis, of precarious transmission and disturbance within the system of accepted values, followed by attempts at realignment and reconstruction.

¹⁰ On how literally 'dead' and beheaded see Kaster R.A., "Becoming 'Cicero'", in P. Knox – C. Foss (eds.), *Style and Tradition. Studies in Honor of W. Clausen* (Stuttgart-Leipzig: 1998) 248–63.

¹¹ Thus Lowrie M., "Making an exemplum of yourself: Cicero and Augustus", in S.J. Heyworth – P.G. Fowler – S.J. Harrison (eds.), *Classical Constructions. Papers in Memory of Don Fowler, Classicist and Epicurean* (Oxford: 2007) 91–112.

¹² Gowing A., *Empire and Memory. The Representation of The Roman Republic in Imperial Culture* (Cambridge: 2006) 108 (an important book for our topic).

As the *Res Gestae*, storehouse of Roman *exempla*-making, clearly demonstrate, Augustus is a great *auctor* of past Roman *exempla*, but the process cannot be reduplicated in the future without a danger for Roman society. Future ‘imitatio Augusti’ will be substantially different from imitation of let us say Horatius Cocles or Brutus: most of the imitation will be set apart for his designated successors, in particular for Tiberius (who represents one of the levels of address in the *Res Gestae*), and it will have to be selective. For instance (I have to avoid saying ‘for example’ in this paper...), the emperor has revived many examples of the past and has also set a new standard through his own example, yet there are some actions of his that are emphatically not offered for imitation by others: the opening sentence ‘in order to avenge my father I have organized and financed my own private army in the civil wars’ bears a clear stamp of ‘do not reproduce without permission’.

In the meantime, in Augustan literature, we notice a rising amount of *moral* exemplarity divorced from the possibility of aggrandizing *action* and self-promotion: we might call it ‘passive’ exemplarity. The most spectacular instance for us is the disquieting poem tucked at the end of the published poems of Propertius, the Cornelia elegy (IV 11). This is the last poem, but also the first poem in the collection in which we find a sense that a Roman life should be scrutinized according to rigorous Roman standards and should set an example worthy of the ancestors: this all sounds very Republican until it turns out that the individual in question is not Propertius, not even a Roman man, but a woman, a dead woman moreover, who offers herself with some trepidation and frustration to the evaluation of the judges. The function of evaluation in the poem uses firm moral standards drawn from Republican aristocratic tradition, but it is embodied in different kinds of evaluating instances, the elegiac poet, the readers, the *princeps*, and the judges in the underworld: the plurality of incompatible standards implies a paralysis of the *exempla*-making tradition,¹³ and this is precisely where the poet’s voice falls silent.

In Horace, the cultivation of a sense of limits and limitations stops exemplarity from becoming the stimulus for sublime ambition: Augustus—who has transgressed all the limits of human power in Roman

¹³ Lowrie M., “Cornelia’s exemplum: form and ideology in Propertius 4.11”, forthcoming in P. Salzman-Mitchell – G. Liveley (eds.), *Latin Elegy and Narratology: Fragments of Story* (Columbus: 2008) 165–79.

society—sets, if anything, new standards of morality through moderation and self-containment. Again (as in Propertius) the poet's voice goes to rest (the end of *carmina* IV 15, a closural formula ironically close to two famous *incipits*, by Lucretius and by Vergil) precisely when it seems to accept (*more patrum*) the task of replicating past exemplarity:

[...]
and melding our voices with Lydian tibias
sing the ancient tales of virtuous
leaders, Anchises, Troy,
and the children of gentle Venus.¹⁴

The character of Aeneas in Vergil bears many features of exemplarity that purport to continue the Republican tradition—he is goaded by his father through the images of future exemplary Romans and the message is: 'Do we still hesitate to prove our worth in deeds?'¹⁵—but in the end the message to the average reader is more about *pietas*, *labor*, discipline and even submission to a higher authority, than about leadership and individual heroism. The part of the story when Aeneas is an *imperator* coincides with a long nightmare of violence, where action is described in chilling, almost surgical terms, and the effect on most readers is, more than an inspirational precedent, surely one of relief that this long era of sacrifice is over now that Augustan peace covers and shelters the world. On the other hand, the vision of the past emphasizes continuity through imitation of predecessors as never before. This is a striking aspect of history in Livy, where even the earliest kings are immediately anxious to show that they are aware of predecessors and work through a steady process of imitation: they also quote and memorialize the precedent of earlier kings, even when there is a very thin layer of past history to be remembered. In the case of Livy's Romulus, who has little past capital to recuperate, the function of a predecessor is discharged by Hercules.¹⁶ Needless to say, *au fil du temps* the text of Livy becomes a growing display of not only *exempla* of the past but *exempla* of the past that have been already narrated and researched by Livy himself, with

¹⁴ C. IV 15, 29–32: 'virtute functos more patrum duces / Lydis remixto carmine tibiis / Troiamque et Anchisen et almae / progeniem Veneris canemus'. Translation from Mulroy D.D., *Horace's Odes and Epodes: Translated with an Introduction and Commentary* (Ann Arbor: 1994).

¹⁵ Virg. *Aen.* VI 806: 'et dubitamus adhuc virtutem extendere factis'.

¹⁶ Fox M., *Roman Historical Myths. The Regal Period in Augustan Literature* (Oxford: 1996) 112–3.

a rich effect of intratextual repetition and difference.¹⁷ It is important to mention this, because with only a fraction available to us of a huge number of books, plus puny summaries, there are, at least virtually, many more intratextual effects than the one we are able to notice: effects of self-correction, revision, contrast. It has been well recognized that the portrait of Hannibal owes much to Roman *exempla* of internal discord and ambition, such as Catiline, and there are comparisons to make with Sallust:¹⁸ but how much more intense would our reaction be, if we had Livy's Catiline before us, and if we could recognize the (intratextual) Hannibal in Catiline, as well as the intertextual (Sallustian) Catiline in Hannibal? Consider for the example that it is according to the extant text of Livy (Livy 30, 44,8) that we know a version of Hannibal's curse, uttered in the extreme of his humiliation before death, according to which future Roman discord will be his revenge after Roman victory over the Carthaginians.¹⁹ Livy's Hannibal then gestures towards his own 'influence' on Livy's Catilina, as well as his incorporation of Sallust's Catilina as a negative *exemplum*.

I mention this phenomenon because I hope it can help to foster contacts with research on later European culture. In an age when texts more than cultural practices and artefacts had become the agents of tradition, the intra-textual approach to the *exempla* tradition helps to explain how Latin books—those golems of paper, ink and leather—could have had such a profound impact in regenerating an approach to exemplarity.

This is not solely a phenomenon of historiography, and of a historiography intensely concerned with exemplarity, however. Exactly at the time of Livy, the composition of Roman elegy reveals an increasing concern with a 'serial' perception of the past. The use of mythological example is per se a basic feature of elegiac writing, but what is new is that we begin to find *exempla* that can be taken as intratextual as well as intertextual. Ovid's *Heroides* is such a text, because it belongs to the genre of elegy, but transforms it through a serial format that will have profound influence on the Middle Ages. The letters are in many ways

¹⁷ Chaplin J.D., *Livy's Exemplary History* (Oxford: 2000): it would be interesting to pursue similar clues about intra-textual exemplarity in Ennius' *Annales*, itself arguably one important influence on Livy (see below on the case of Fabius Maximus Cunctator).

¹⁸ Clauss J.J., "Domestici hostes": the Nausicaa in Medea, the Catiline in Hannibal", *Materiali e discussioni* 39 (1997) 165–85.

¹⁹ Reeve M., "The future in the past", in M. Whitby et al. (eds.), *Homo viator. Essays for John Bramble* (Bristol-Oak Park: 1987) 319–22.

the regular instalments of a poetic book, and if we take the so-called double letters as a continuous book of poetry, we have the author of the final letter by a man quote as an example the author of the first letter of the collection: Acontius toys with the idea of doing exactly what Paris did, taking the woman he wants, and to hell with the consequences. Paris is of course a famous example and sometimes role model in Roman elegy, but in the collection of the double *Heroides* he is also the first protagonist:

If craft will not suffice, I will use
weapons so that you can be seized and carried
far away in my longing embrace.
I will not scold Paris nor any other
who, to become a husband, has been a man.²⁰

Of course Acontius now knows how the story of Paris ended, so his use of the example is too daring, and he will later silently discard the precedent, and opt for *artes* not *arma*. So is Acontius referring us back to the *exemplum* of Paris, or to the character in the same book?

Another work intensely preoccupied not only with *exempla*-making but with its own activity of *exempla*-making is Lucan's *Bellum Civile* (another crucial text for future communities of Medieval readers). The extant text of the poem ends abruptly with a passage that we normally consider as an unfinished narrative: Caesar is almost in despair, for the first time in the poem, and in the fray at Alexandria he looks back and recognizes the centurion Scaeva, famous for his *monomachia* against the Pompeians at Epidamnus—

Penned by a trick of location, he paused, puzzled—should he fear
or pray for death? There in the massed ranks he spotted
Scaeva, who lately had earned a name of unending fame
on your fields, Epidamnus, where single-handed, despite
breached walls, he besieged the man trampling his ramparts—Magnus.²¹

²⁰ Ov. *Her.* 20, 47–50: 'si non proficient artes, veniemus ad arma, / inque tui cupido rapta ferere sinu. / non sum, qui soleam Paridis reprehendere factum, / nec quemquam, qui vir, posset ut esse, fuit'. Translation from Isbell H., *Ovid: Heroides* (London: 1990).

²¹ Luc. X 542–6: 'captus sorte loci pendet; dubiusque timeret / optaretne mori respexit in agmine denso / Scaeuam perpetuae meritum iam nomina famae / ad campos, Epidamne, tuos, ubi solus apertis / obsedit muris calcantem moenia Magnum'. Translation from Wilson Joyce J., *Lucan: Pharsalia* (Ithaca: 1993).

We cannot countenance the idea of this passage as the end that Lucan *wanted* for his poem. But this is the way the poem was circulated, and considering what we know of Lucan's troubled final days, it is a possible inference that he somehow contrived that his incomplete text functioned as an image of his whole unfinished project. In any case, it is striking that Scaeva emerges at the end as an *exemplum* provided with autonomous energy and self-perpetuating glory. The idea that he is an example of *virtus* is supported by the text in book X, but belied by the purple passage about the *aristeia* of Scaeva back in book VI. As a narrator Lucan had been at pains to subject the *exemplum* to the usual Senecan strategy of moral scrutiny (I return to this in a moment), therefore he had insisted much on the military courage (the *virtus*) of Scaeva, unique among many, one against so many, and even more on the idea that his motivation was not really virtue (the other sense of Roman *virtus*) but the evil, almost nihilistic drive of civil war. We may consider the idea that in book X *Caesar* is allowed to be the focalizer: this is what Scaeva represents to him, in his distress, not to the regular reader of Lucan. One of the striking features of this poem is that there is a constant power struggle between the narrator and the overpowerful character named Caesar. Perhaps Caesar is offering us a sample of his own re-reading of the *Bellum civile* by Lucan (*respexit in agmine denso* suits the idea of spotting the example in the text rather precisely). But more importantly, and this is our central theme at present, the passage in book X is saying that Scaeva is forever glorious not because he is a standard *exemplum*, but because *Lucan* has made him into one: the glory of Scaeva is now inseparable from the invective of Lucan, and the passage cuts both ways, providing an impressive exit cue for Lucan himself: the poem undercuts the self-praise of the Caesarian power machine, but the glory of the poem is accursed by the inevitable celebration of a success won by the forces of die-hard evil.

This is for us another warning that the function of exemplarity undergoes massive refashioning at the beginning of Imperial culture. It is important to remember that this is both a time of crisis and a time of intense systematization and rationalization in the 'factory' of public *exempla*.

We notice increasing systematization of past *exempla* in official art and communication, roughly at the same time as Livy and Ovid, authors who, in their own different pursuits, begin to turn *exempla* into self-referential devices. It is likely that the process had a remote precedent in Ennius' *Annales*, but in the age of Augustus the leadership

had been occupied not by poetry but by the mass media, in art and architecture. The importance of the Forum Augustum in this context must be emphasized.²² It had a gallery of Julian ancestors—reminiscent of ancestor display in aristocratic houses—and a gallery of great Romans of all times—reminiscent of public honorific statues. The selection and research represented especially in the row of Roman leaders has a clear analogy in antiquarian literature (so not only in Livy, but in Varro's *Imagines*) but what interests me here is that the amount of planning and regularity involved in the monument flies in the face of Republican tradition: it turns the Forum Romanum and other older public areas into an old-fashioned jumble, because there the many statues and celebrative structures could not have been displayed in some kind of significant order, certainly not a chronological sequence. By their messiness and improvisatory confusion, the old public spaces now spell 'Republic' just as unavoidably as the new tidy, closed ordering of Republican *exempla* in the Forum Augustum spells 'Empire'.

This is precisely the time when another true *crisis of exemplarity* is being explored in Ovid's *Tristia*. Stephen Hinds²³ has recently drawn attention to the peculiar argument in a poem in praise of Ovid's wife:

*In probity neither Hector's wife excelled you
nor Laodameia, who clove
to her husband even in death. If you'd had Homer
to sing your praises, Penelope's renown
would be second to yours, you'd stand first in the honoured roll-call
of heroines, pre-eminent for courage and faith—
wether this quality's inborn, produced by your own nature,
devotion that owes nothing to a master's words,
or wether that princely lady, for years your honoured patron,
has trained you to be a model wife, by long
inurement, assimilation to her own example (if great things
may properly be compared with small).*²⁴

²² Gowing A., *Empire* (note 12) index s.v. *Forum of Augustus*.

²³ Hinds S., "First among women: Ovid, *Tristia* I 6 and the traditions of exemplary catalogue", in S. Morton Braund – R. Mayer (eds.), *Amor: Roma. Love & Latin Literature. Essays Presented to E.J. Kenney* (Cambridge: 1999) 123–42.

²⁴ Ov. *Trist.* I 6, 19–28: '*nec probitate tua prior est aut Hectoris uxor, / aut comes extincto Laodamia viro. / tu si Maeonium vatem sortita fuisses, / Penelopes esset fama secunda tuae: / prima locum sanctas heroidas inter haberes, / prima bonis animi conspicerere tui. / sive tibi hoc debes, nullo pia facta magistro, / cumque nova mores sunt tibi luce dati, / femina seu princeps omnes tibi culta per annos / te docet exemplum coniugis esse bonae, / adsimilemque sui longa adsuetudine fecit / grandia si parvis*

In a regular *exempla* series, a common feature in elegy and in poetic catalogues, one would imagine that the praise of the *laudanda* would be expressed as an equalling or surpassing great *exempla* of the past. Here, however, one of the *exempla* wrecks the scales of evaluation and comparison: the Roman woman can be equal or superior to the Greek heroines typical of Ovid's poetry, Andromache, Laudamia, Penelope, but this is because she has been taught by a Roman *femina princeps*, Livia, someone who is the exemplar to whom Ms. Ovid conforms herself, but will never be approachable through competition or emulation, the way the Greek exemplary models normally function. Livia is simply in a class of her own.

The other significant author for the crisis of exemplarity is Tacitus. Consider briefly the following excerpt from the *Annales*:

The only proposals in the senate that I have seen fit to mention are particularly praiseworthy or particularly scandalous ones. It seems to me a historian's foremost duty to ensure that merit is recorded, and to confront the evil deeds and words with the fear of posterity's denunciations. But this was a tainted, meanly obsequious age. The greatest figures had to protect their positions by subserviency; and in addition to them, all ex-consuls, most ex-praetors, even many junior senators competed with each other's offensively sycophantic proposals. There is a tradition that whenever Tiberius left the senate-house he exclaimed in Greek, 'Men fit to be slaves!' Even he, freedom's enemy, became impatient of such abject servility.²⁵

The idea of memorializing deeds and their authors is the quintessence of traditional historiography at Rome; but here the ones who 'strike a pose' in the best Republican tradition are dangerous and even negative examples. In Tacitus, the really good *exempla* of the past are people who

adsimilare licet'. Translation from Green P., *The Poems of Exile: Tristia and the Black Sea Letters* (Berkeley-Los Angeles-London: 2005).

²⁵ Tac. *Ann.* 3.65: 'Exequi sententias haud institui nisi insignis per honestum aut notabili dedecore, quod praecipuum munus annalium reor ne virtutes sileantur utque pravis dictis factisque ex posteritate et infamia metus sit. Ceterum tempora illa adeo infecta et adulatione sordida fuere ut non modo primores civitatis, quibus claritudo sua obsequiis protegenda erat, sed omnes consulares, magna pars eorum qui praetura functi multique etiam pedarii senatores certatim exurgerent foedaque et nimia censerent. Memoriae proditur Tiberium, quoties curia egrederetur, Graecis verbis in hunc modum eloqui solitum 'o homines ad servitutem paratos!' scilicet etiam illum qui libertatem publicam nollet tam proiectae servientium patientiae taedebat'. Translation from Grant M., *Tacitus: The Annals of Imperial Rome* (London: 1995). On the programmatic importance of the passage see Marincola J., *Authority and Tradition in Ancient Historiography* (Cambridge: 1997) 31.

need a voice, and avoid spectacular ‘minting’ of *exempla*, like Agricola, because they have been denied their own voice by the Imperial system. This is a canny choice for Tacitus, because this way he creates a new *exempla* system where the historian is even more important than in the Livian tradition. Livy had introduced himself, with language not dissimilar from the *Res Gestae* of Augustus, as the one who serves the community by recuperating the good *exempla* of the past to help heal the present; but Tacitus is the one who is really needed, because the Imperial *exempla* need careful critical investigation, even detection, not just a process of transmission and immortalization through straightforward praise.

As a contrast, evocations of the Republic under the Empire increasingly valorize the theatrical aspect of exemplarity. Republican men and women are now not very different from tragic actors or models for the visual arts. They work hard for the spectacle of virtue and other special qualities, they increasingly anticipate their own future as *exempla* and paradoxically imitate their future exemplarity—which is a rough and ready description for Lucan’s Cato or even Caesar, and Seneca’s tragic heroes and heroines. They enhance themselves, compete for attention, strike poses, raise their voice, preach within their own narratives, but also imply ‘do not try this at home’, because the competitive ideology that goes with this imagery of virtue is now deeply suspect.

Yet there is a further problem here: Seneca is the chief exponent of a deep revision of the Republican *exempla* tradition, one in which *even* the ancient *exemplum* is suspiciously scrutinized, and there turns out to be *never enough* evidence of a positive exemplarity. This is because recorded actions are no longer a reliable guide to the intentions and moral dispositions that produce them. That is, what if those people, back then, had been performing exemplary actions for reasons that remain hidden and do not pass the test of moral examination?²⁶ Needless to say this revision valorizes the role of the ‘literary’ author over that of the ‘author of *exempla*’, and it displaces moral authority from the exemplary hero onto Seneca himself, while pushing past traditions dangerously close to the area of ‘display of virtue’ instead of ‘virtuous action’.

In connection with this crisis of revision and exemplarity, we have a whole culture, Greek culture in the IInd century, devoting itself to the cultivation of exemplarity with a double agenda: on the one side

²⁶ Roller M., *Constructing Autocracy* (Princeton: 2001) 88–97.

the process of transmission and recreation helps the preservation of endangered ethnic identity; on the other, also important, the industry of exemplarity profits from the growing Roman market. Precisely when imitation of Greece has become a distinctive feature of Roman culture, Greek intellectuals intensify their own imitation of past Greece especially through the frame of exemplarity, hence the enormous success of Plutarch, of the rhetors, and even the idealized Greek novel. The function of the so-called Greek revival of the so-called Second Sophistic is not only *binnenGriechisch*, it is conditioned by the growing request for Greek past models and Greek classical *paradeigmata* within the cultural economy of the Latin-speaking empire.

But my final reason for insisting on exemplarity as the *fil rouge* of Latinitas has to do with my own specialization as a rather formalist critic of Roman poetry.

It would be interesting to compare more closely the practice of *exempla*-making with the intertextual activity of Roman poets. Otto Skutsch, the editor of Ennius, has formulated a general tendency about the appropriation of Ennius in Vergil—one that is valid also, as far as I know, for Ovid: ‘Vergil took over many lines or part of lines from Ennius, but never a whole line without changing at least one word’.²⁷

Now if we look for instances of appropriation of whole lines at the upper limit of Skutsch’s spectrum, we end up with one case in Vergil and one in Ovid. As it happens, they are both quasi-reproductions of a hexameter line, they both approach the status of a quotation (reflexive allusion, in modern terminology), and—what matters to me here—they are both about individuals who are defined as unique, that is, precisely the stuff for *exempla*-making.

The line quoted in Ovid is about Romulus, the one who will make it to the sky: the reference of *unus* is apparently ‘only one out of the two, Romulus & Remus’ but obviously the celebrity of the line helps *unus* becoming an indication of *absolute* uniqueness. Romulus will be the one and only among the Romans to head for the sky, at least until Augustus significantly changes the panorama. ‘There shall be one whom you shall raise to the blue vault of heaven’.²⁸

Interestingly, the famous line comes from the poet who, based on extant evidence, actually *made* Romulus into a god for the *first* time

²⁷ Skutsch, *The Annals* (note 4) 13.

²⁸ Enn. *ann.* 54–5 Sk.: ‘Vnus erit quem tu tolles in caerula caeli / templa’.

in Roman tradition: 'Romulus apparently was not a god before Ennius made him one'.²⁹ So the intertextual competence of Ovid selects a unique model, the only one to be quoted as a quasi-whole line in his work, and a model about unique status in Roman memory. He also quotes the line twice, while keeping the reference unchanged, and repeats the context in *Metamorphoses* and *Fasti*, and has the same character, Mars, refer to something he has learned on a previous occasion and can now quote as a precedent:

The time has come,
 Father, since now the Roman state stands firm
 on great foundations, not dependent still
 on one man's power, to award the promised prize
 (earned by my grandson, promised to us both),
 that he be taken from earth and placed in heaven.
 Once in the assembled council of the gods
 you said to me (my memory has marked
 a father's loving words), "there shall be one
 whom you shall raise to the blue vault of heaven".
 Grant now fulfilment of those words of yours.³⁰

For his father, the Lord of Arms, when he saw new walls
 and the many wars fought by Romulus,
 said: 'Jupiter, Roman power possesses strength;
 it does not need the service of my kin.
 Return son to father. Although one has perished,
 the one left will stand for himself and Remus.
 "There shall be one whom you shall raise to the blue vault of heaven,"
 you told me: let Jupiter's words prove right'.³¹

The twin imitations in *Metamorphoses* and *Fasti* reinforce the impression that this is really one exceptional event. Ovid implicitly quotes

²⁹ Skutsch, *The Annals* (note 4) 205.

³⁰ Ov. *Met.* XIV 808–15: 'tempus adest, genitor, quoniam fundamine magno / res Romana valet nec praeside pendet ab uno, / praemia, (sunt promissa mihi dignoque nepoti) / solvere et ablatum terris inponere caelo. / tu mihi concilio quondam praesente deorum / (nam memoro memorique animo pia verba notavi) / "unus erit, quem tu tolles in caerula caeli" / dixisti: rata sit verborum summa tuorum!' Translation from Melville A.D. – Kenney E.J., *Ovid: Metamorphoses* (Oxford: 1998).

³¹ Ov. *Fast.* II 481–88: nam pater armipotens postquam nova moenia vidit, / multaque Romulea bella peracta manu, / 'Iuppiter', inquit, 'habet Romana potentia vires: / sanguinis officio non eget illa mei. / redde patri natum: quamvis intercidit alter, / pro se proque Remo qui mihi restat erit. / "unus erit quem tu tolles in caerula caeli" / tu mihi dixisti: sint rata dicta Iovis'. Translation (except for line 487) from Boyle A.J. – Woodard R.D., *Ovid: Fasti* (London: 2000).

not only Ennius but also the legalistic practice of the Roman senate in 'validating' precedents.³²

The line of Ennius must have been very famous indeed: we can suspect that there are ironical and deviant memories of the model (always a good indication of exemplarity, as is the use of an abbreviated cipher: *unus erit* instead of the whole quotation) in some other passages of Augustan poetry. Vergil uses *unus erit* in another divine prophecy, but one in which it is all about the one out of many who will *die*, not about the one out of many who will be divinized / deified, Palinurus not Romulus: '*One only shall there be whom, lost in the flood, you will seek in vain; one life shall be given for many ...*'³³ Ovid uses the expression *unus erit quem trahat* (cf. *unus erit quem tu tolles*) about the one, out of many, who will be hooked up in public by a seductive woman: 'So, the beauty must court her public—perhaps, among so many, *she'll find one man worth attracting*'.³⁴ In short, Ovid has isolated in the Ennian corpus for special reference a passage which is about 'making Romulus the one and only immortal in Roman history'.³⁵ His literary reference pays homage to the logic of *exempla*, and reminds us of a similar case in Vergil.

Vergil's only 'almost whole-line' quotation from Ennius has a similar ring. It comes when Anchises ends his gallery of Roman exemplary leaders by saying: 'Whither, O Fabii, do ye hurry me all breathless? You are he, the mightiest, the one who could through inaction preserve our state'.³⁶

³² Note e.g. Cic. *Leg.* III 10.1 (cf. III 28,2) 'Omnes magistratus auspicium iudiciumque habento exque is senatus esto. Eius decreta rata sunt'.

³³ Virg. *Aen.* V 814–5: '*unus erit tantum amissum quem gurgite quaeres; / unum pro multis dabitur caput*'. Translation from Rushton Fairclough H. (ed. and transl.) – Goold G.P. (rev.), *Virgil* (note 1).

³⁴ Ov. *A.A.* III 421–2: '*Se quoque det populo mulier speciosa videndam: / Quem trahat, e multis forsitan unus erit*'. Translation from Green P., *Ovid: the Erotic Poems* (London: 1982).

³⁵ The reference to the past works as a figure for the appropriation of Ennius (Conte G.B., *Memoria dei poeti e sistema letterario* (Turin: 1974) 35–7; Hinds S., *Allusion and Intertext. Dynamics of Appropriation in Roman Poetry* (Cambridge: 1998) 14–16; Miller J.F., "Ovidian allusion and the vocabulary of memory", *Materiali e discussioni* 30 (1993) 153–64) but since Ovid regularly plays on the idea of a cross-reference between *Metamorphoses* and *Fasti*, he may be hinting that in the future the 'other' text where Jupiter's promise is inscribed is actually his own other poem.

³⁶ Virg. *Aen.* VI 845–6: '*quo fessum rapitis, Fabii? tu Maximus ille es, / unus qui nobis cunctando restituis rem*'. Translation (archaic) from Rushton Fairclough H. (ed. and transl.) – Goold G.P. (rev.), *Virgil* (note 1).

Again we see how a certain explicit intertextuality goes hand in hand with exemplarity. The language of '*unus*' is again relevant. The one who saved so many. It is interesting to realize that the Ennian model had an explicit reference to future increase of glory: *postque magisque viri nunc gloria claret*. Now Vergil's imitation, of course, guarantees that precisely this is *going to happen*: Fabius Maximus' glory will increase through the glory of Ennius' poetry and, implicitly, through the glory of the *Aeneid*:

One man by his delays restored the state;
hearsay he would not put before our safety;
hence to this day the warrior's glory shines—
in after time, and more than it shone once.³⁷

Interestingly, however, we do not have a simple situation in which Ennius sings about the past and glorifies it by narrating it. If the book number transmitted for lines 363–5 is not wrong, the praise of Fabius Maximus occurred in book XII, while the substantial narrative of his exploits must have been featured back in book VIII of the *Annales*. This fragment attested for book VIII has been plausibly connected to the direct narrative about Fabius, and to his controversial leadership in the second Punic war: 'But when the occasion or the time smothered their daring'.³⁸

So the famous passage that turns Fabius into an example was in fact, already in Ennius, a *recollection*, either by the poet, or by someone trying to make a point, supporting a line of conduct or persuading other Romans. It was a recollection of Fabius the man himself *and* of the text by Ennius about him.

Once again we see the link in Roman letters between the repetition of past *exempla* and textual self-reference. The effect is that of making the visibility of the *auctor* of the text inseparable from that of the *auctor* of the deed: we have seen a dark variant of this approach in Lucan's centurion Scaeva. Now of course the Ennian line about Maximus the saviour of the Roman state was indeed famous and exemplary. It is quoted by Cicero: 'How much better did Q. Maximus. About him Ennius said:

³⁷ Enn. *Ann.* 363–65 Sk. [Book XII]: 'Unus homo nobis cunctando restituit rem. / Noenum rumores ponebat ante salutem. / Ergo postque magisque viri nunc gloria claret'. Translation from Warmington E.H., *Remains of old Latin. 1: Ennius and Caecilius* (London: 1967).

³⁸ Enn. *Ann.* 255 Sk. [Book VIII]: 'aut occasus ubi tempusve audere repressit'. Translation from Warmington E.H., *Remains* (note 37).

One man by his delays restored the state; / hearsay he would not put before our safety; / hence to this day the warrior's glory shines— / in after time, and more than it shone once',³⁹ and by Augustus in a letter quoted by Suetonius, in which Augustus, rather like Vergil, takes the Ennian hexameter and changes one word to fit the situation:

Truly do I praise the conduct of your summer campaigns, my Tiberius. In my view no one else could have done as well as you did in the face of so many difficulties—and such apathy on the part of your men. Those who were with you all agree that the famous line can be applied to you: 'One man alone through his care has saved our state'.⁴⁰

Interestingly, Servius says that this quotation in book VI is made by Vergil '*quasi pro exemplo*', and this is of course related to the force of '*ille*' as a pointer to a self-reflexive allusion: 'This is the man [*ille*] about whom Ennius said "One man by his delays restored the state". Knowing Vergil wrote this verse almost as if by example. *Ille*: remarkably said about a second person'.⁴¹

Unfortunately, there is a chance of circularity here, a chance that those are the only examples we know because *exempla* were more interesting to 1st century readers of Ennius and to Imperial commentators of Vergil than other material. But the coincidence is still worth mentioning: both Vergil and Ovid apparently wanted their Ennius to be identified with the action of praising unique leaders in exemplary situations.

Most of the cases we have discussed have at least one shared explanation: if we look at the written record, the intensification of the *exempla*-industry in Roman culture has to do not only with 'continuous' transmission from the early Republic onwards, but also with attempts by the Roman élite to survive a deep crisis in its habits, values, assets, and outlook, and with the self-representation of writers and poets. That

³⁹ Cic. *Off.* 1, 84: 'Quanto Q. Maximus melius, de quo Ennius: 'Unus homo nobis cunctando restituit rem. / Non enim rumores ponebat ante salutem. / Ergo postque magisque viri nunc gloria claret'.

⁴⁰ Suet. *Tib.* 21.5.13: *Ordinem aestivorum tuorum! ego vero, mi Tiberi, et inter tot rerum difficultates... non potuisse quemquam prudentius gerere se quam tu gesseris, existimo. ii quoque qui tecum fuerunt omnes confitentur, versum illum in te posse dici: 'unus homo nobis vigilando restituit rem'. Translation from Edwards C., Suetonius: Lives of the Caesars (Oxford: 2000).*

⁴¹ Serv. *ad Aen.* VI 845–6: '*ille est, de quo ait Ennius 'unus qui nobis cunctando restituit rem'. sciens enim Vergilius quasi pro exemplo hunc versum posuit. ille] notandum est de secunda persona dictum*'.

explains something of the subsequent vitality of the *exempla* tradition. When Roman power ended and everything was in flux, the *exempla* tradition had already incorporated the effects of a crisis, the one between Republic and empire, and the tendency towards a more or less explicit celebration of literary authorship.

The successive accretion of traditions of exemplarity has turned Latin literature into a vast laboratory of exemplarity, one that includes not only techniques of memorialization and selection, bicultural openness, and the important insight of turning quotation 'from the outside of the text' into self-reference and self-authorization, but also of contestation and revision. This well explains the continuing fortunes of Latin culture within the Christian environment of many subsequent centuries. This culture could not be jettisoned, not just because it held the key to collective memory, but also because it offered strategies of accommodation, change, and even subversion and revolution. However, the accommodation strategies had their own in-built limitations.

In a passage of Livy (who was to become perhaps the most important author in the entire tradition, and so offers my final example) the Samnite general Pontius accuses the Romans of being inveterate cheats, inured to breaking terms of surrender and regulations of war: 'Will you never, when you have been beaten, lack excuses for not holding to your covenants? You gave hostages to Porsenna—and withdrew them by a trick'.⁴² Pontius does not mention her, out of contempt, but he must be referring to the story of Cloelia confronting Porsenna, a most wonderful example of Roman integrity and courage as told by Livy himself back in book II. (Again we see the importance of self-quotation in the *exempla* tradition.) Now Pontius uses the story in a powerful invective against Rome. Pontius in Livy is a competent and even witty manipulator of *exempla*: he makes expert use of what we call the illustrative use of Roman exemplarity, the *ex uno disce omnes* approach. This is not as exceptional as it seems: in Roman tradition, it is permissible to appropriate *exempla* and turn them against their own tradition, as in the iconoclastic attempt put by Livy into the mouth of the Samnite general. What is really out of the question, is to have alien characters (unless

⁴² Liv. IX 11, 6: 'nunquamne causa defiet cur uicti pacto non stetis? obsides Porsinnae dedistis; furto eos subduxistis'. Translation from Foster B.O., *Livy: with an English translation in fourteen volumes. 4: Books VIII–X* (London-Cambridge (Mass.): 1926). Cf. Chaplin J.D., *Exemplary History* (note 17) 40; Roller M., "Exemplarity in Roman culture: the Cases of Horatius Cocles and Cloelia", *Classical Philology* 99 (2004) 44.

they are Greeks) mentioning their own *exempla*, instead of being drawn into the Roman *exempla*-factory. While he attacks Cloelia, an ancestral Roman exemplary figure, the Samnite leader is excluded, and excludes us, from knowledge of his own vernacular *exempla* tradition.

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PART II

GENRES OLD & NEW

CHAPTER FOUR

THE LANGUAGE OF GRIEF AND THE POETICS OF CONJUGAL MOURNING: FROM EURIPIDES (*ALCESTIS*, transl. BUCHANAN) TO JOACHIM DU BELLAY (*TUMULI* [*POEMATUM LIBRI QUATUOR*], 1558)

GEORGE HUGO TUCKER

The purpose of this study is to examine modalities and issues of ‘appropriation’ of the Greek-Latin Classical tradition, as illustrated by Joachim Du Bellay’s *Poemata* (Paris: 1558). We shall be looking at questions of multiple, diverse ‘appropriation’ of elements of that tradition stretching from the *Alcestis* of Euripides and the amatory verses of the Roman love elegists, as well as from funeral epigrams of the *Greek Anthology*, and even a Latin funeral inscription of the reign of Tiberius, known to Boccaccio (to name but a few possible ancient models or intertexts). However, this legacy, discernible as it may well be in Du Bellay’s Latin poems, and in the *Tumuli* of these *Poemata*, is itself, inevitably and typically, one mediated by, and in dialogic relation with, a more recent, no less relevant cultural context: that of the neo-Latin poetry of Renaissance Italy and France—in this particular case, the ‘conjugal’ verses of Giovanni Pontano (1429–1503) in the late Quattrocento, and those of Jean Salmon Macrin, the Horace of Loudun (1490–1557),¹ informed

¹ On Salmon Macrin and his circle, see: Soubeille G., “Amitiés de Salmon Macrin parmi les poètes de langue vernaculaire”, in G. Castor – T. Cave (eds.), *Neo-Latin and the Vernacular in Renaissance France* (Oxford: 1984) 99–112; Chamard H., *Joachim Du Bellay 1522–1560* (Lille: 1900-Geneva: 1978) 30–32, 238–41; Cooper R., *Litteræ in tempore belli: études sur les relations littéraires italo-françaises pendant les guerres d’Italie*, Travaux d’Humanisme et Renaissance 308 (Geneva: 1997) 25–49 [“Ch. II. Guillaume Du Bellay homme de guerre”] (pp. 26, 29, 34–35, 41–45); Galand-Hallyn P., “Michel de l’Hôpital à l’école de Jean Salmon Macrin dans les *Carmina*”, *Bibliothèque d’Humanisme et Renaissance* 65 (2003) 7–50. On Macrin’s poetic career, models and influence, see: McFarlane I.D., MS Taylorian Library, Oxford [untitled history of neo-Latin poetry in 16th-c. France], 95–97, 122–23, 207, 250, 276–90, 299–303, 497–510, 528–30; Id., “Jean Salmon Macrin (1490–1557)”, *Bibliothèque d’Humanisme et Renaissance* 21 (1959) 55–84; Girot J.-E., *Pindare avant Ronsard*, T.H.R. 35 (Geneva: 2002) 286–300; Galand-Hallyn P., “Michel de l’Hôpital”; ead., “L’Ode latine comme genre ‘tempéré’: le lyrisme familial de Macrin dans les Hymnes de 1537”, *Humanistica*

by Pontano,² in the first half of the Sixteenth Century. Moreover, in respect even of the Euripidean model already mentioned, the *Alcestis*, we shall be concerned (typically also) with its contemporary re-creation in the Latin verse translation of George Buchanan (published by Michel Vascosan in Paris in 1556, then in 1557),³ reflecting the poetic landscape of Du Bellay's time and his engagement with his immediate literary and humanistic circle.

It should also be stated immediately that in that part of the *Tumuli* of Du Bellay's *Poemata* whose intertextual complexities we shall be examining there is no explicitly discernible hierarchy of sources and models; nor is there a pure, privileged, uncontaminated, unmediated Classical legacy or influence, but rather a complex intertextual polyphony. The task of this study is to examine such an intricately *intertextual* (as opposed to merely *source-driven*) perspective upon the poetics of conjugal love, friendship and mourning, present in Du Bellay's *Poemata*: in particular, the way in which Du Bellay's intertextual practice (or rather, our perception of it) may illustrate for us (again, typically) the word 'appropriation', by suggesting the way, or ways, in which such 'appropriation' is itself effected; but also (no less typically) the question of *what* is 'appropriated', and *why* this is significant in the immediate cultural context of the 'appropriating' author.

Our reflections on this *exemplum* of 'appropriation' should start with Du Bellay's contribution, in Summer 1550, of a poem of consolation in French, "À Salmon Macrin sur la mort de sa Gelonis", to the poetic

Lovaniensia 50 (2001) 221–65; ead., "La Poétique des *Odes* de Jean Dorat: l'influence de Salmon Macrin", in C. De Buzon – J.E. Girot (eds.), *Jean Dorat, poète humaniste de la Renaissance. Actes du colloque international (Limoges, 6–8 juin 2001)*, T.H.R. 420 (Geneva: 2007) 293–322.

² Two *editiones principes* of the *Opera* of Pontano came out in 1505: in Venice (Aldus); and in Naples (in 6 vols., ed. Pietro Summonte, 1505–12). See Nichols F.J. (ed.), *An Anthology of Neo-Latin Poetry* (New Haven–London: 1979) 127–195, 662–67 (pp. 663–64 ["Notes to Giovanni Pontano"]), who highlights the variants of the two *editiones principes*. On Pontano's influence in France and on Salmon Macrin, see: McFarlane I.D., MS Taylorian (note 1) 207–208, 249; and note 6 below. On Pontano's neo-Catullan style in his amatory verse (*Pruritus sive Lascivia* [1449–51], *Parthenopeus sive Amores* [c. 1457], *Hendecasyllabi* [1489–1501]), imitated by Macrin, see: Ludwig W., "The Catullan Style in Neo-Latin Poetry", in P. Godman – O. Murray (eds.), *Latin Poetry and the Classical Tradition: Essays in Medieval and Renaissance Literature*, Oxford–Warburg Studies (Oxford: 1990) 183–97; Gaisser J.H., *Catullus and his Renaissance Readers* (Oxford: 1993) 220–29.

³ See McFarlane I.D., *Buchanan* (London: 1981) 121, 166, 498.

tombeau which Salmon Macrin had composed and assembled for his recently deceased wife Guillonne Boursault ('Gelonis'; d. 14 June 1550) in the form of his *Næniarum libri tres*,⁴ to which some twenty-two fellow poets also contributed verses in addition to those of Macrin himself and of Du Bellay:

La constance immuable
 De ta douce moitié,
 Sa chasteté louable,
 Son ardente amitié,

 O Macrin! n'ont eu force
 Contre la fiere Loy,
 Qui a faict le divorce
 De ta femme & de toy [...]

 Cuydes-tu par ta plainte
 Soulever un tombeau,
 Et d'une vie eteinte
 R'allumer le flambeau?

 Ton deuil peu secourable
 Ne desaignira pas
 Le juge inexorable,
 Qui preside la bas.⁵

Just as in his conjugal love poetry of some twenty years before, dedicated to the young 'Gelonis' (*Carminum libellus*, 1528 / *Epithalamiorum liber unus*, 1531), and just as in his *Carminum libri quatuor* of 1530, Salmon Macrin had followed in the footsteps of Pontano's verses 'On conjugal

⁴ On Macrin's conjugal, funereal *Næniæ*, see: Soubeille, G. (ed.), "Introduction", in Salmon Macrin J., "Le Livre des Épithalames (1528–1531). Les Odes de 1530 (Livres I & II)," Publ. de l'Univ. de Toulouse-le-Mirail Série A, t. 37 (Toulouse: 1978) 19–133 (pp. 123–29) / *Épithalames & Odes*, Textes de la Renaissance 20 (Paris: 1998 [2nd augm. edn]) 11–145 (pp. 129–43); Chamard H., *Joachim Du Bellay* (note 1) 238–41; McFarlane I.D., MS Taylorian (note 1) 503–506; Galand-Hallyn P., "Le 'Jour en trop' de Jean Salmon Macrin (l'ode liminaire des *Næniæ* de 1550: grandeur et plasticité)", in J. Lecointe – C. Magnien – I. Pantin – M.-Cl. Thomine (eds.), *Devis d'amitié. Mélanges en l'honneur de Nicole Cazauran*, Colloques, congrès et conférences sur la Renaissance 28 (Paris: 2002) 525–47; ead., "Me tamen exprimo: la singularité d'écrire dans la poésie latine française du XVI^e siècle. L'exemple des *Næniæ* (1550) de Macrin", in *La singularité d'écrire. XVI^e–XVIII^e s.*, ed. A. Herschberg Pierrot – O. Rosenthal, *Littérature* 137 (march 2005) 12–27.

⁵ Du Bellay J., "À Salmon Macrin sur la mort de sa Gelonis", vv. 49–56, 93–100, in Id., *Œuvres poétiques*, ed. H. Chamard et alii, S.T.F.M., 8 vols. (Paris: 1908–85), IV (1943) 27–34 [from Salmon Macrin J., *Næniarum libri tres*, de Gelonide Borsala uxore charissima: quæ annos XXXX, menses II, dies XV nata, obiit XIII Iunii, anno Domini M.D. XXXXX (Paris: 1550)].

love' (*De amore conjugali* 1462 onwards),⁶ so in his *Næniæ* ('funeral songs') of 1550, Salmon Macrin could be seen to be following (and re-'appropriating' textually) not the Pontano of the *Næniæ* of the *De amore conjugali* (where the *Næniæ* in question are cradle poems rather than funeral laments),⁷ but rather the later Pontano of the eclogue *Meliseus* (1492) and of the subsequent *Tumuli* of 1502 lamenting the death of Pontano's beloved spouse Adriana Sassone. It is worth noting also that in order to solicit Du Bellay's contribution to this conjugal *tombeau*, whose celebration of conjugal grief incidentally confirms the 'Horatian' Salmon Macrin as the new French Pontano, Salmon Macrin contributed in the same period a liminary ode in Latin to Du Bellay's Petrarchist sonnet sequence, the augmented *L'Olive* (2nd edn.) of 1550, stressing likewise the continuity of an amatory poetic tradition inherited from the Roman elegiac poets Calvus, Tibullus and Ovid, and perpetuated by Petrarch's vernacular celebration in Italian of Laura, as well as by Macrin's own celebration in Latin of the late 'Gelonis', and by Du Bellay's celebration now in French of his 'Olive':

Are you not fortunate in the poems you have written for your Olive?
Or is she herself, rather, not more fortunate than her own poet,
She who henceforth will follow Petrarch's Laura,
Quintilia, Nemesis and Corinna?
Oh! Would that my own Gelonis were joining them
One day! Although she be dead,
And in her departing has left her Macrin
So sad, alas! and sated with life.
She lived such a life of harmony with her husband,
That she deserves to be celebrated with enduring praise:

⁶ Consult Soubeille G. (ed.), "Introduction", in Salmon Macrin J., *Le Livre des Épithalames* (note 4) 48–49 and Id., *Épithalames & Odes* (note 4) 45–46, who emphasises likewise the influence of Pontano upon the conjugal and familial poetry of Macrin (see above, n. 2). In his conjugal poetry Macrin had espoused the Catullan and Pontanian poetics of the 'kiss' a decade before the appearance in Lyons of the *Basia* (1539) of Janus (Ioannes) Secundus (d. 1536); see Gaisser J.H., *Catullus* (note 2) 250–54, and Ford P.J., "The *Basia* of Joannes Secundus and Lyon Poetry", in *Intellectual Life in Renaissance Lyon. Proceedings of the Cambridge Lyon Colloquium 14–16 April 1991*, ed. P.J. Ford – G. Jondorf, Cambridge French Colloquia (Cambridge: 1993) 113–33 (esp. pp. 118–24). On Catullan influence in Salmon Macrin, see also: Soubeille G. (ed.), "Introduction" (note 4) 45–46 [1978] / 42–43 [1998]; and Gaisser J.H., *Catullus* (note 2) 229.

⁷ See Smeesters A., "Les Berceuses latines de Pontano et leurs sources antiques", *Humanistica Lovaniensia* 53 (2004) 93–114. Macrin's *Næniæ* are thus funeral laments such as those, for example, of the *Næniæ* (Fano, 1515) of Marullus, as opposed to those of Pontano.

But you alone would be capable of doing that,
Joachim, in your ingenious verses.⁸

Indeed, in respect of Petrarch's archetypal celebration of Laura in both life and death (revitalising in the vernacular, in a Christian guise, ancient Roman love poetry), it might also be perceived from Salmon Macrin's poem that both the addressee Du Bellay (as pioneering author of the first French amatory sonnet sequence) and the addresser Salmon Macrin (as a poet similarly celebrating in life and death his beloved 'Gelonis') might likewise be 'appropriating', each in his own way (in French and Latin respectively), the rhetoric and poetics of Petrarch's amatory poetry in a language and poetics of grief as much as of love.

No doubt also, in these liminary compliments of Salmon Macrin's, which refer to his own contemporaneous *Næniæ* for his late spouse, and include these in the canon of Latin love poetry, the implication is that Salmon Macrin himself aspires to a similar poetic renown or immortality for his own conjugal poetics, inherited from Pontano, which in his earlier poetic collections he had in fact grafted onto the non-conjugal, even anti-conjugal, amatory poetry of the Roman elegiac love poets, of the neo-Catullan neo-Latin poets such as Janus (Ioannes) Secundus,⁹ and even of Petrarchist Italian verse: for example, in his

⁸ Salmon Macrin J., "Salmonii Macrini Iuliodunensis Ode in Olivam Ioachimi Bellaii Andensis", vv. 25–36, in Du Bellay J., *L'Olive augmentée [...] La Musagnoemachie & aultres œuvres poétiques* (Paris: 1550), fol. A[viii]r–v:

Felix Olivæ carminibus tuæ,
An vate felix illa suo magis,
Lauram secutura hinc Petrarchæ,
Quintiliam, Nemesin, Corinnam?
Coniungeretur his utinam mea
Olim Gelonis! mortua sit licet,
Tristemque decedens Macrinum
Liquerit heu! saturumque vitæ.
Sic illa vixit cum unanimi viro,
Laude ut perenni digna sit evehi:
At solus argutis valeres
Tu facere id Ioachime, rythmis.

⁹ See Bizer M., "Le Poète enchaîné: mépris du mariage et liberté poétique chez Jean Second et Joachim Du Bellay", in J. Balsamo – P. Galand-Hallyn (eds.), *La Poétique de Jean Second et son influence au XVI^e siècle*, Les Cahiers de l'Humanisme I (Paris: 2000) 185–95 (esp. pp. 185, 190). Cf. Ford P.J., "Jean Salmon Macrin's *Epithalamiorum Liber* and the Joys of Conjugal Love", in Id. – I. De Smet (eds.), *Eros et Priapus*, Cahiers d'Humanisme et Renaissance (Études de philologie et d'histoire) 51 (Geneva: 1997) 65–84. Du Bellay himself had at his disposal from the library of Cardinal Jean Du Bellay (a selection of which was to travel with him to Rome and back 1553–57) a copy of the 'Opera Iohannis Secundi'; see Tucker G.H., *The Poet's Odyssey. Joachim*

erotic representation of conjugal love in his *Hymni* of 1537, dedicated to the Cardinal Jean Du Bellay,¹⁰ future patron of Joachim. Indeed, the intertextual picture suggested by Salmon Macrin in his liminary poem for Du Bellay's *L'Olive* is one of a complex hybridity, both of perceived sources or models, ancient and modern, and of types of love-poetry (conjugal or non-conjugal, celebrating both erotic sensuality and chaste affection or friendship).

However, with regard to the Petrarchist author of *L'Olive*, how will this Macrinian model of hybridity and polyphony in Latin amatory verse impact later upon his Latin verse productions? Will the presence of the neo-Latin Horace of Loudun be felt as an intermediary or contaminating influence, or as a privileged monody, in Du Bellay's classicising four books of *Poemata* (*Elegiae. Varia Epigr[ammata]. Amores [Faustinæ]. Tumuli*), published in Paris in September 1558, but dating from Du Bellay's stay in Rome from June 1553 to September / October 1557, as well as from the first months of his return to Paris in late Autumn 1557 (a return of Ulysses *in patria*, which coincided in fact with the death of Salmon Macrin in Loudun in October 1557)? Critics such as Marc Bizer have pointed to the traditional anti-conjugal, or extra-conjugal, dimension of Du Bellay's *Amores* [*Faustinæ*], influenced both by Roman erotic elegy and the erotic poetry of Janus Secundus (for example, Du Bellay's poem "Basia Faustinæ" [*Poemata* (1558) fol. 41r-v: *Amores* 23]),¹¹ no doubt resonating in dialogue as well with the amatory, neo-Catullan verses addressed to 'Neæra' by Du Bellay's friend the neo-Latin poet, George Buchanan (1506–82). Indeed, the anti-conjugal thematic of Du Bellay's *Amores*—a traditional Roman elegiac one of adulterous desire, with Faustina's husband becoming the object of the poet-lover's jealousy—will be sealed at the end of this book of *Amores* with a symbolic 'little kiss' (*basium*), worthy of a Secundus or a Buchanan, extracted from a certain 'Neæra' as payment for two (neo-Catullan) hendecasyllabic verses offered to her by the poet-lover ('Bellaius') of the collection:

Du Bellay and the 'Antiquitez de Rome' (Oxford: 1990) 239–40 ("App. E. The Poems of Calcagnini and Other Contents of a Travelling-chest Belonging to the Du Bellays" [p. 240]); Pétris L., "Vestiges de la bibliothèque du cardinal Jean Du Bellay", *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 69 (2007) 131–45 (esp. p. 143).

¹⁰ See Galand-Hallyn P., "L'Ode latine" (note 1) 238–240 ("Souvenirs érotiques et mariage chrétien").

¹¹ Bizer M., "Le Poète enchaîné" (note 9) *passim*. See also above, note 9, on Jean and Joachim Du Bellay's copy of the *Opera* (1541?) of Janus Secundus.

For our hendecasyllables, Neæra,
You owe us a kiss: pay up, Neæra!¹²

Now, as well as associating Du Bellay's amatory Latin verses (via the name 'Neæra') with the erotic neo-Catullan aesthetic of the *Basia* of Secundus and of Buchanan's verses, this distich points metatextually to a contrasting association, again through the common celebration of 'Neæra' (but also through the conceit of obtaining kisses for verses), with the chaster neo-Catullan aesthetic of Michael Marullus (1453–1500),¹³ Buchanan's model and Pontano's rival. Pontano had reproached Marullus in his *Hendecasyllabi* (1.29 ["De Marulli munusculis"] .7–12)—again, metatextually—for having failed, through the enticement of his chaster verses, to obtain from his 'Neæra' 'a hundred Catullan little kisses' (*centum basiola et Catulliana*).¹⁴ In addition, another poem of Du Bellay's *Amores*, the "De poetarum amoribus ad Gordium" (*Poemata*, fols 41v–42r), addressed to the poet-friend Gordes (and following on immediately from the "Basia Faustinae"), inscribes Du Bellay's own amatory Latin verses on Faustina (just as Salmon Macrin had suggested of his earlier *L'Olive*) within a Latin, then vernacular, polyphonic universe of poet-lovers and their named mistresses, stretching from the Lesbia, Delia and Corinna of Catullus, Tibullus and Ovid, and from the Cynthia and Lycoris of Propertius and Gallus, to the Stella, Nina and 'recens Neæra' of the modern Italians Pontano, Sannazaro and Marullus (or even the Scottish Buchanan), crowned by the Laura of Petrarch, and by the Candida and 'Gelonis' of the French neo-Latin poets Théodore de Bèze and Salmon Macrin (as also, even, in the vernacular, by the Cassandre of Ronsard, the Pasithée of Tyard, the Melline of Baïf, and the Olive of Du Bellay).

If the possible poetic affinity with Salmon Macrin is thus (typically) merely one amongst many listed here in Du Bellay's *Amores*, one lost, as it were, in the jumble or overlapping interference of ancient Roman, then Renaissance Italian and French intertexts enumerated by

¹² Du Bellay J., *Poematum libri quatuor: quibus continentur, Elegiæ. Varia Epigr. Amores. Tumuli* (Paris: 1558) fol. 43r: *Amores* 29:

Debes pro hendecasyllabis, Neæra,
Nobis basiolum: Neæra, solve.

¹³ On Marullus's influence in France, see, notably, McFarlane I.D., MS Taylorian (note 1) 209–11, 250–51; for his verses, consult Marullus M., *Carmina*, ed. A. Perosa (Zürich: 1951).

¹⁴ See Gaisser J.H., *Catullus* (note 2) 231–33, 246–47; cf. Ludwig W., "The Catullan Style" (note 2) 193.

Du Bellay for Gordes, it will nonetheless be in the following book of Du Bellay's *Poemata*, that of the *Tumuli* (which crowned the *Poemata* as the final fourth *liber*), written in imitation of the funeral epigrams of the *Greek Anthology* and of the *Tumuli* of Pontano, that Du Bellay will most obviously 'appropriate' for himself the 'conjugal' poetic legacy of his recently deceased neo-Latin master, Salmon Macrin. For Du Bellay includes therein not an explicitly identifiable funeral epigram for Salmon Macrin, but rather an implicit homage to the latter's conjugal poetics, to Macrin's famous celebration of his love for his spouse 'Gelonis' Laura-like, in both life and death. This poetic homage paid by Du Bellay is couched in the language of friendship and grief, and marked by the very aesthetic, ethics and poetics of conjugal love and mourning previously espoused by Macrin in imitation also of Pontano. It is a monument to poetic conjugality, which stands in complete contrast with the preceding *Amores* of Du Bellay's *Poemata*. It is a unique melody in Du Bellay's entire Latin and French poetic symphony.

For in the middle of the *Tumuli* (*Poemata* [1558] fols. 45r–62r), at the beginning of the second half (from fol. 54r onwards), one encounters a cycle of funeral epigrams (numbered *Tum.* 24–30 by the editor Geneviève Demerson)¹⁵ devoted to a Macrinian (and Pontanian) conjugal and familial thematic. This central cycle follows hard upon another (*Tum.* 17–23; fols. 50r–53v) devoted largely to the French dead of the Franco-Italian wars and of the Franco-Imperial battle of Saint-Quentin, culminating in a lapidary inscription in honour of those fallen in this catastrophic French defeat, which, like Salmon Macrin's death in October, had just happened in August 1557, and which, according to the inscription, had elicited the 'tears' of the poet-author (*MVL[T]IS. CVM. LACRYM[IS]. P[RO]SVIT[IS]*). Indeed, the first poem to follow this funeral inscription (with its historical referentiality) is, on the *recto* side of a new page opposite (fol. 54r), appearing at its head, a symbolic, metatextually relevant, 'Tomb of Neæra' (*TVMVLVS NEÆRÆ*), announcing now in the *Tumuli* the death of the beautiful 'Neæra' whose *basium* the poet had previously 'bought' with the neo-Catullan verses of his *Amores*,—and thus further announcing, by implication and by extension, a new thematic of conjugal love.

¹⁵ Du Bellay J., *Œuvres poétiques*, ed. H. Chamard [t. 1–6 (1908–31): *œuvres françaises*; rev. Y. Bellenger t. 1 (1982) – H. Weber t. 2 (1970)] – G. Demerson [t. 7–8 (1984–85): *œuvres latines*], 8 vols., S.T.F.M. (Paris: 1908–85), VII (1984): *Poemata*.

This symbolic, metatextual, death and burial of 'Neæra' (a kind of intertextual and intratextual *recusatio* of the erotic neo-Catullan, Roman elegiac vein of the preceding *Amores*) is the harbinger now of a new poetics in this new central cycle, a poetics of grieving spouses and their 'tears' (*lacrymæ*): those of the 'husband' (*MARITVS*) that had been until only recently Salmon Macrin, deceased in late Autumn 1557; but also those now of the 'wife' (*VXOR*) or 'shade' (*VMBRA*) that long had been, or still was, 'Gelonis', dead since the Summer of 1550:

<i>Tum.</i> 24, fol. 54r)	NEÆRA'S TOMB.	[5 elegiac couplets]
<i>Tum.</i> 25, fol. 54r)	UPON THE ASHES OF A HUSBAND the tears of a wife.	[2 elegiac couplets]
<i>Tum.</i> 26, fols 54r–55v)	FUNERAL SONG. A HUSBAND, AND THE SHADE OF HIS WIFE.	[23 elegiac couplets]
<i>Tum.</i> 27a, fols 55v–56r)	UPON THE ASHES OF A HUSBAND the tears of a wife.	[10 elegiac couplets]
<i>Tum.</i> 27b, fol. 56r)	ANOTHER.	[1 elegiac couplet]
<i>Tum.</i> 27c, fol. 56r)	ANOTHER.	[2 elegiac couplets]
<i>Tum.</i> 28, fol. 56r–v)	UPON TWO FRIENDS PIERCED by the same wounds.	[13 hendecasyllabic verses]
<i>Tum.</i> 29, fol. 56v)	[TOMB] OF A HUSBAND, AND OF A WIFE.	[2 elegiac couplets]
<i>Tum.</i> 30, fol. 56v)	UPON A SON, A MOTHER'S tears. ¹⁶	[2 elegiac couplets]

¹⁶ Du Bellay J., *Poematum libri quatuor* (1558) fols 54r–56v: *Tumuli* 24–30:

<i>Tum.</i> 24, fol. 54r)	TVMVLVS NEÆRÆ.	[5 elegiac couplets]
<i>Tum.</i> 25, fol. 54r)	IN CINERES MARITI vxoris lacrymæ.	[2 elegiac couplets]
<i>Tum.</i> 26, fols 54r–55v)	NÆNIA. MARITVS, ET VXORIS VMBRA.	[23 elegiac couplets]
<i>Tum.</i> 27a, fols 55v–56r)	IN CINERES MARITI vxoris lacrymæ.	[10 elegiac couplets]
<i>Tum.</i> 27b, fol. 56r)	ALIVD.	[1 elegiac couplet]
<i>Tum.</i> 27c, fol. 56r)	ALIVD.	[2 elegiac couplets]
<i>Tum.</i> 28, fol. 56r–v)	DE DVOBVS AMICIS IISDEM vulneribus confossis.	[13 hendecasyllabic verses]
<i>Tum.</i> 29, fol. 56v)	MARITI, ET VXORIS.	[2 elegiac couplets]
<i>Tum.</i> 30, fol. 56v)	IN FILIVM MATRIS lacrymæ.	[2 elegiac couplets]

Indeed, this sequence of ‘conjugal’ poems, stemming from the *Tumulus-recusatio* ‘of Neæra’, is marked by the alternation of the voices and ‘tears’ of widow and widower, as also by a similar alternation of the *monologue* of the female ‘spouse’ (*uxor*) [in *Tum.* 25 & 27a–c], and of the *dialogue* of the ‘husband’ (*maritus*) and the ‘shade’ / ghost of his ‘wife’ (*uxoris umbra*) [in the intervening *Tum.* 26], a *nænia*-dialogue whereby this conjugal couple sings in duet a kind of ‘funeral song’ for two.

Tumulus 28

Moreover, the whole cycle is punctuated by a highly symbolic epigram in hendecasyllables, *Tum.* 28, whose Catullan metrics are devoted not to the *mignardises* of sensual love, but to the elegiac celebration, and quasi-epic exaltation, of the loyal friendship of two comrades fallen together in battle, whose joint deaths echo the legendary deaths of the bosom friends Nisus and Euryalus in Vergil (*Aen.* 9.179–449),¹⁷ whilst hearkening back also to the fate of the fallen French soldiers just evoked by Du Bellay in the immediately preceding cycle of *Tum.* 17–23. This archetypal image of perfect friendship constitutes implicitly now in the context of this new ‘conjugal’ cycle the image of the ideal couple, inseparable because ‘of one heart’ (*unanimus*) and ‘joined’ in the same ‘studies’, ‘love’, and ‘sport’ (*coniuncti studiis, amore, ludo*), ‘equal’ in ‘intelligence’ and ‘beauty’ (*Pares ingenio, paresque forma*), sharing ‘the same household gods’ ‘in one dwelling’ (*Iisdem sub laribus, domo sub una*), indeed, sharing ‘one soul’ (*unam / Mentem*), ‘pierced by the same wounds’ in battle, and experiencing the same ‘simultaneous death’ (*Iisdem vulneribus confossi / simul perempti*), just as they had thought to share the same ‘life’ in ‘courageously’ ‘guarding’ and defending one another (*Alter dum intrepidè alterum tuetur, / Vitam quisque suam putans amici*), and now ‘lie’, loyal, well-matched, inseparable still, ‘buried in one and the same tomb’ (*Vno sub tumulo iacent sepulti*).

¹⁷ See Demerson G. (ed.), note on *Tum.* 28, in Du Bellay J., *Œuvres poétiques* VII (note 15) 332. On this Vergilian *exemplum* of friendship and the erotic-conjugal recycling of it (*Aen.* 9.446: *Fortunati ambo*) in Ausonius, *Cento nuptialis*, see H.-J. van Dam on “Latin Occasional Poetry”, in this volume.

Tumulus 29

This thematic of the perfect union, in friendship, of two beings ‘joined’ together in life and death, anticipates the following (penultimate) funeral epigram of the cycle, *Tum.* 29, ‘of husband and wife’ (*MARITI ET VXORIS*), also a loyal couple, ‘of single heart’ (*unanimus*), ‘joined together in death by the Fate’s command in a single tomb’ (*Hos uno in tumulo iungi post funera Parca [iussit]*), just as they had been ‘conjoined’ in life by ‘Hymen’ in the ‘bliss’ of ‘a single nuptial chamber’ or ‘marriage-bed’ (*Quos uno in thalamo tædis fælicibus olim / ... iunxit Hymen*), ‘bound’ to each other ‘by the union of their hearts’ (*Concordi vinctos pectore*). The further implicit parallel apparent within this *Tumulus* is not just with Vergil’s famous pair of friends, but also with Salmon Macrin and his spouse ‘Gelonis’, whom Macrin had just rejoined ‘in death’ in October 1557. The poem stresses, in Christian vein, that Love himself had commanded that such a united couple live together in Heaven, thus capping the fate of the two bosom friends of the preceding *Tum.* 28 (united in the same pagan tomb), but also that of ‘Næra’ at the beginning of the cycle (*Tum.* 24), for whom the poet had simply wished that the ‘Gods’ might ‘grant’ a purely secular, purely poetic (and solitary) ‘survival’ after death ‘in our verses’ (*Dii faciant nostris versibus hanc [Parcam] superes* [v. 10]). Du Bellay’s intertextual ‘appropriation’ here of Classical pagan poetic models of friendship, or of contrasting Renaissance ones of erotic love and poetic immortality, is thus made subservient to an immediate historical referentiality, tinged with Christian overtones, that of the archetypal Christian couple, Salmon Macrin and his ‘Gelonis’, joined now for eternity in Christ.

Tumuli 30 & 25

Moreover, this ultimate union evoked in *Tum.* 29 gives rise in turn, in *Tum.* 30, to a final funeral lament and set of poetic ‘tears’ in a *nænia* which is both a Macrinian / Marullan ‘funeral lament’ and a Pontanian ‘cradle song’ of sorts¹⁸—that of a ‘mother’(-wife) at the tomb of her ‘son’(-husband). Relevant to this maternal(-conjugal)-filial coda is the

¹⁸ On the ambiguity of the term *nænia* in Latin, see above, note 6, and Smeesters A., “Les Berceuses latines” (note 7) 93–114.

opening *Tum.* 25 of the cycle proper (following the preliminary *Tumulus Neærae* [24]), which together with *Tum.* 30 thus frames this cycle of poems. In *Tum.* 25 the voice and ‘shed’ ‘tears’ of the widow, who is at once ‘daughter’, ‘mother’ and ‘sister’ ([*Quas lacrymas*] *Et nata, & mater persolvique soror*) addressing and ‘weeping for’ the ashes of her ‘sweet husband’ (*coniux dulcissime*), who ‘was’ at once ‘father’, ‘son’, and ‘brother’ to her (*Has tibi nunc lacrymas... solvo / Qui pater, & natus, qui mihi frater eras*), closely echo the words and sentiments of Andromache bidding farewell to her husband Hector in Homer (*Il.* 6.429–430). In this moving ‘appropriation’, it is even more significant and poignant that Du Bellay has added at this juncture in his *quasi*-Homeric *tumulus* of farewell to the dead ‘husband’ in question the supplementary reference to this husband being a ‘son’ (*natus*) to the lamenting widow. This was not the case in Andromache’s famous farewell; Du Bellay’s embroidering upon Homer thus anticipates and invests with a further layer of meaning the maternal(-conjugal)-filial *Tum.* 30 closing the cycle.¹⁹ Implicitly, in *Tum.* 30, the ‘husband’-‘father’-‘brother’ that Salmon Macrin was to his ‘wife’-‘daughter’-‘sister’, has become in death the ‘son’ as well of his ‘anguished’ spouse-‘mother’ (*anxia mater*)—a spouse-‘mother’, moreover, who has herself become, like the ghostly ‘spouse’-‘shade’ (*uxor-umbra*) of the long dialogic *Tum.* 26, a ‘weeping shade’ (*umbra flebilis*), and whose ‘soul’ is nonetheless united ‘in this grave’ (*Hic [hoc sepulchro] animus tecum est*) ‘with’ this her dear spouse, addressed as her ‘dear son’ (*charus natus / filius*).²⁰

Tumuli 26 & 27

Ultimately, these interrelated initial and final *Tumuli* (24–25; 28–30) of this group of funeral epigrams themselves frame its dual central core: the *Nænia*-dialogue of ‘husband’ and ‘ghost’-‘wife’ (*Tum.* 26), followed by the ‘tears’ (*lacrymæ*) of the female ‘spouse’, ‘shed’ three

¹⁹ See Demerson G. (ed.), note on *Tum.* 25, in Du Bellay J., *Œuvres poétiques* VII (note 15) 330. In Homer’s *Iliad* Hector represents, rather, for his wife Andromache, a ‘father’, a ‘mother’, and a ‘brother’, as well as a ‘spouse’.

²⁰ Cf. Ovid’s equation of conjugal grief (at separation, akin to death) with the death of a ‘daughter’ [*nata*] (*Trist.* 1.3.97) or ‘son’ [*natus*] (*Her.* 15.115)—the grief of Ovid’s wife at his exile, and that of Sappho separated from Phaon. I am grateful to K. Descodings for these observations, stemming from doctoral researches on the Ovidian legacy in the Renaissance (see below, note 28).

times (*Tum.* 27a–c) ‘upon the ashes of her husband’, in the form of a tripartite monologue, which itself replies formally to the preceding *Nænia*-dialogue. Like the framing *tumuli* of the cycle, so also this its dual central core highlights the love and friendship—fatherly, motherly, brotherly, sisterly, filial, and daughterly—pertaining between the anonymous ‘husband’ (in fact, Salmon Macrin) and the anonymous ‘wife’ (in fact, ‘Gelonis’).

Yet, in highlighting thus this thematic of conjugal love, friendship and mourning, the inescapable mythical and literary archetype that this would have conjured up above all for Du Bellay and for his contemporaries would have been the moving and edifying story of Admetus, King of Pheræ in Thessaly, friend both of Apollo and of his loving, loyal wife Alcestis, who sacrificed the rest of her own allotted life in order to prolong her husband’s, but who was eventually delivered from the Underworld and restored to him by Hercules. Most famously, this was the subject of Euripides’ Tragedy *Alcestis*, a play which in 1557 at the time of composition of this cycle of poems in honour of Salmon Macrin, would (as we noted above) have just been transposed into Latin verse by Du Bellay’s neo-Latin friend George Buchanan, and published in Paris in 1556, then re-printed, due to its popularity, in 1557 (thus coinciding with Salmon Macrin’s death). Du Bellay’s funereal celebration of the late Macrin and his ‘Gelonis’, thus constitutes also a timely, topical ‘appropriation’ of Euripides as Latinised by Buchanan, but also an ‘appropriation’, by intertextual association, of the moral, aesthetic, and affective qualities associated with Euripides’ tragedy, as perceived and mediated by Buchanan. Such qualities of conjugal loyalty and virtue, couched, according to Buchanan, in a gentle, uniform and agreeable Euripidean style (present also, indeed, in Du Bellay’s cycle of conjugal *Tumuli*), were for Buchanan the opposite of the customary violence of Classical tragedy, with its parricides and poisonings. These finer qualities are highlighted by him as distinctive in particular of the *Alcestis* in his translator’s preface addressed to Marguerite de France, sister of Henri II and patron of Du Bellay, a cultivated princess whose own qualities and virtues the play is also said by Buchanan to mirror:

It [this play] is written in a calm, a uniform, and (the hall-mark of Euripides) a pleasing style; as for parricide, poisoning, and the other crimes with which other Tragedies are filled, here there is not the slightest echo of these, absolutely no trace. On the contrary, all is filled with conjugal love, loyalty, humanity, and acts of duty, so much so that I do not fear to compare this story to the books of those Philosophers who have professedly

transmitted to us the teachings of virtue: indeed, I may even prefer it [...] For, as far as I am able to judge, this story exhibits the express image of those virtues which we recognise in you, no less readily than we read and admire them in *Alcestis*, and to such an extent that every time you take it in your hands, necessarily, the image of your own virtues will spring to mind [...]²¹

If, in Du Bellay's *Nænia*-dialogue (*Tum.* 26) and in the monologue (*Tum.* 27a–c) of spousal 'tears' (*lacrymæ*) that accompanies and completes it, it is these qualities of stylistic *finesse*, moving pathos, and conjugal loyalty, friendship and virtue that are most in evidence, these resonate in particular sympathy with the opening of Euripides' play (in the Latin version of Buchanan), where we encounter a dialogue of despair between a grief-ridden, guilt-ridden survivor, Admetus, and a dying Alcestis, torn between the sacrifice she is making for her husband as the pledge of her love, and her regret at abandoning her children to an uncertain future:

ALC[ESTIS].

O children, children, already your mother

Is no more, no more already is your mother.

Farewell, my children, and look to the nurturing light of day.

AD[METVS].

Woe is me! these grim words strike my ears,

And are harsher for me to bear than any death.

Do not forsake me, do not, by the very gods,

Suffer this: for if you are deprived of the light,

Life itself is bitter for me; upon you alone hangs

My death, and my life. Thus is our love

For thee fixed ineradicably in the very core of our being.²²

²¹ Buchanan G., "Ad Illustrissimam Principem D. Margaritam Henrici II. Francorum Regis Sororem in Alcestin Præfatio" [*Euripidis Poëtæ Tragici Alcestis*, G. Buchanano *Scoto interprete*], in Id., *Poemata quæ extant* (Amsterdam: 1687) 516–46 (pp. 516–17): 'Est enim orationis genere leni & æquabili, & quod Euripidis proprium est, suavi; parricidii vero & veneficii, & reliquorum quibus aliæ Tragœdiæ plenæ sunt scelerum, nulla prorsus hic mentio, nullum omnino vestigium. Contra vero conjugalis amoris, pietatis, humanitatis, & aliorum officiorum, adeo plena sunt omnia, ut non verear hanc fabulam comparare cum libris eorum Philosophorum qui ex professo virtutis præcepta tradiderunt: ac nescio an etiam præferre [...] habet enim hæc fabula, quantum ego quidem judicare possum, earum virtutum quas in te non minus libenter agnoscimus, quam in Alcestride legentes miramur, adeo expressam imaginem, ut quoties eam in manus sumas, toties tibi virtutum in mentem veniat necesse sit [...]'.

²² Euripides *Alc.*, vv. 270–79, transl. Buchanan G., *Alcestis* (note 21) 524:

ALC[ESTIS].

Pueri, ô Pueri, iam vestra parens

Indeed, this inconsolable husband realises bitterly that he lacks the voice and music of Orpheus to redeem his wife from death (like Orpheus's Eurydice), even though she, Alcestis, has, out of love for him and their children, been willing to die in his place:

AD[METVS].

Oh! If only

I had the voice and sweet song of Orpheus,
In order to bend the heart of infernal Proserpina through my
Singing, or of cruel Pluto, and lead you
Back, I would go immediately [...] ²³

Moreover, if this Euripidean scenario of a tragic divide between the survival and death (respectively) of the two spouses, of emotional continuity and discontinuity, of the disintegration of the familial space,²⁴ of a sense of powerlessness before a catastrophe, and anxiety for offspring, is partly reflected in Du Bellay's Latin verses (especially in the long dialogue between spouses of *Tum.* 26), it is perhaps powerfully mediated too, and not without a further dimension of bitterness and reproach, in the ironising discourse of the ghost of Cornelia in Propertius 4.11.²⁵ In this culminating elegy of Propertius's, the shade of the deceased wife of the consul Lepidus Æmilius Paullus reproaches her husband for his tears, and exhorts him to look after their children and even re-marry,

Nulla est, nulla est iam vestra parens.
Valete nati, & lumen almum cernite.

AD[METVS].

Hei mihi! tristis vox ferit aures,
Ac morte mihi durior omni.
Ne me desere, ne per superos,
Tolera: nam te lumine cassa
Vivere acerbum est; pendet ab una
Te mea mors, ac vita. ita nobis
Tui amor penitus fixus inhæret.

²³ Euripides *Alc.*, vv. 357–60, transl. Buchanan G., *Alcestis* (note 21) 526:

AD[METVS].

Mihi

Si lingua adesset Orphei, & blandum melos
Furvæ canendo pectus ut Proserpinæ
Duri vel Orci flecterem, ac reducerem
Te: p[ro]mptus irem [...]

²⁴ See Galand-Hallyn P., "Le Lyrisme familial" (note 1) 238–55 (2.3: *La poétique du cocon familial*).

²⁵ See Carrai S., "Du Bellay e Omonea. Cultura epigrafica e imitazione nella nenia 'Maritus et Uxoris Umbra'", *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 54 (1992) 451–59 (p. 455).

wishing him a long life, prolonged by the years which she has ceded to him. Save for its bitterness and irony, this Propertian monologue (a virtual dialogue) is ostensibly similar to that of Euripides' *Alcestis*, and we can thus find an echo of both Propertius and Euripides in the wish expressed by the female *umbra* of *Tum.* 26, that a new, similarly 'most faithful' 'spouse' should comfort her husband in his 'widowed bed' as a 'consolation' for her own 'death' (vv. 33–34: *Succedet viduo coniux fidissima lecto, / Solamen nostræ quæ tibi mortis erit*). At the same time, the broader thematic of a reproach for excessive weeping and tears in the grief of mourning finds a dialogic parallel not just in Propertian Cornelia's tart opening imprecation that her husband 'Paullus' should 'stop oppressing' her 'tomb' with his 'tears' (Prop. 4.11.1: *Desine, Paulle, meum lacrimis urgere sepulcrum*), but also, more lovingly, in Vergilian Creusa's ghostly, chiding questioning to her 'sweet husband' husband Aeneas (fleeing Troy) of the 'benefit' of 'indulging so in mad grief' (Verg. *Aen.* 2.776–77: *quid tantum insano iuvat indulgere dolori, / o dulcis coniux?*). The intertextuality of Du Bellay's conjugal funeral dialogue is thus richly polyphonic, embracing Augustan Vergil and Propertius as well as Buchanan's Latin transmission of Euripides' *Alcestis*, not to mention the original Greek play as well.

Du Bellay's cycle of conjugal *Tumuli* also exploits one of the conventions of the funeral epigrams of the *Greek Anthology*, the epitaph in the form of a putative dialogue with, or address, to a passer-by. Du Bellay transforms such a virtual dialogue between a deceased person and a surviving, living one (an anonymous *viator*), into a similarly virtual conversation between a female 'spouse' (the 'shade' [*umbra*] of 'Gelonis') and her surviving consort (Salmon Macrin, whilst he was alive).²⁶ Indeed, even more broadly still, for Stefano Carrai, in his article of 1992 on "Du Bellay e Omonea",²⁷ the complex intertextuality of Du Bellay's conjugal cycle includes not just Propertius, but also: Ausonius *Parentalia* XI (for the lamentation of the husband on the deceased spouse); Petrarch *Rime Sparse* 359, vv. 14–17 (for the dream dialogue with the ghost of Laura, and her complaint that Petrarch's tears 'reach [her in] heaven, and disturb my [her] peace' [*passano al cielo, e turban la mia pace*]); Politian *Eleg.* VII "On the death of Albiera" (*In*

²⁶ See Demerson G. (ed.), note on *Tum.* 26, in Du Bellay J., *Œuvres poétiques* VII (note 15) 330, citing Schweinitz M. de, *Les Épitaphes de Ronsard: étude historique et littéraire* (Paris: 1925) 89.

²⁷ See above, note 25.

Albieræ... exitum) (on the 'tears' of the husband 'Sismundus' shed on account of the premature death of his young wife 'Albiera'); as well as more generally (with regard to the epitaph as virtual dialogue and the thematic of the 'tears' of conjugal or familial grief), the *Epigrammata* of Marullus, the *Tumuli* of Pontano, and the *Næniæ* of Salmon Macrin, already evoked by us. To these might also be added the no less moving, equally notable, conjugal, funereal resonances of a famous counter-example of *female* spousal mourning for a dead husband: Laodamia's grief for Protesilaus, by virtue of which she obtained from Zeus the boon of his brief return from the Underworld, followed by her own loyal descent (Alcestis-like) to join him there in death—a myth alluded to by Ovid (*Trist.* 3.3.41–42), and Propertius (4.7.23–24), amongst others, and even projected by the latter, significantly, onto the 'shade' (*umbra*) of the 'recently buried' (v. 4: *nuper humata*) Cynthia, returned from the Underworld to reproach Propertius for not having been like Laodamia, for not having obtained for her, Cynthia, in her dying moments, a brief extension of life.²⁸

That said, according to Stefano Carrai,²⁹ there may nonetheless be one principal 'source' which particularly fits as a model for Du Bellay's conjugal funeral epigrams, with their virtual dialogue between deceased and surviving spouses: the funeral inscription (*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, VI, II, 12652) of the epitaph-dialogue between spouses (and with a putative 'passer-by') of the young woman 'Homonea', who in part of the epitaph is in dialogue with her husband 'Atimetus'. This hypothesis, because of its hierarchic (*unintertextual*) privileging of one particular model, and because of the further question that it raises even about the diffusion of this ancient funeral inscription in the Renaissance (partly retranscribed in an early verse exercise of Boccaccio's, his so-called "Elegia di Costanza"),³⁰ is potentially as problematic (and problematically reductive) as it is striking, and we shall return to it.

²⁸ On these intertexts I am grateful to K. Descoings, author of "*Sed desiderium superest. Poétique de la nostalgie dans les élégies d'exil d'Ovide et dans les Elegiae de Petrus Lotichius Secundus (1528–1560)*", doctoral thesis (Univ. de Paris IV-Sorbonne: 2007) who follows: Viarre S., "Laodamie, héroïne élégiaque", *Hommages à Marcel Raymond, Latomus* 101 (1969), I, 768–77; Lyne R.O.A.M., *The Latin Love Poets: from Catullus to Horace* (Oxford: 1980) 101; Id., "Love and Death: Laodamia and Protesilaos in Catullus, Propertius and others", *Classical Quarterly* 92 (1988) 201–12.

²⁹ Carrai S., "Du Bellay e Omonea" (note 25) 457.

³⁰ Boccaccio G., "Elegia di Costanza", in Florence Bibl. Medicea Laurenziana MS Zibaldone Laurenziano (Pluteo XXIX.8), fol. 60r (available online, ed. R. Morenti, *Edizione Critica Ipertestuale dello Zibaldone...autografo di Giovanni Boccaccio*

Another possible (more probable) intertext for a similar transformation in Du Bellay's *Tumuli* of the virtual dialogue of the dead and the living into a conversation between spouse-*umbra* and living husband, is, notably, an Italian Renaissance one. If Du Bellay in his *Tumuli* subtly adapts the dramatic dialogue of Alcestis and Admetus in Euripides / Buchanan, he also seems to embroider upon another funereal dialogue which takes place at the tomb of a spouse: Pontano's "Tomb of Ariadna Sassone, my wife (A conversation between a passer-by, a shade [or Genius], and Hyacinth)" (*Tumulus Ariadnae Saxonae Vxoris* (*Viator, Vmbra* [*Genius*], & *Hyacinthus colloquuntur*)), dedicated to the memory of the deceased spouse Adriana ('Ariadna'):

PASSER-BY

Whence these roses by these tombs? Whence these beds of violets? Have
These tombs engendered both violets and roses?

SHADE [TUTELARY DEITY]

Spring has ceded its privilege, [...]

HYACINTH

[...]

At the death of my mistress I was withering away, but, since losing his
wife,

The husband has come continually to my aid with his tears.³¹

In this *tumulus*-dialogue we hear a conversation between a 'passer-by' (*viator*), the 'tutelary deity' (*genius*) of the place (called *umbra* in the

[<http://rmcisadu.let.uniroma1.it/boccaccio>]); consult also Massera A.F. (ed.), *Opere latine minori* (Bari: 1928) 110, 114, 124. According to Prof. Dr. G. Tournoy, another trace of the epitaph of Homonœa (and Atimetus) is to be found in the MS of the "Barcelona miscellany" (Barcelona, Bibl. de la Catalunya MS 1010), on which consult Tournoy-Thoen G., "Le manuscrit 1010 de la Biblioteca de Catalunya", *Humanistica Lovaniensia* 24 (1975).

³¹ Pontano G., "TVMVLVS Ariadnae Saxonae Vxoris. (Viator, Vmbra [Genius], & Hyacinthus colloquuntur)", vv. 1–3, 23–24, *Tumulorum liber unus, Pontani Opera* (Venice, Aldus: Aug. 1505) [variants = *De Tumulis libri duo, Opera*, ed. P. Summonte (Naples, S. Mayr: 1505)]:

VIATOR

Vnde rosae ad tumulos? unde haec uiolaria? numquid
Hi tumuli & uiolas & perperere rosas?

VMBRA [GENIVS]

Ver tribuit sua iura, [...]

HYACINTHVS

[...]

Arebam dominae interitu, sed coniuge adempta:
Vir mihi de lachrymis subuenit usque suis.

Venetian Aldine edition), and the flower-symbol (the violet-*hyacinthus*) of the husband.³²

Tumuli 27 a-c & 26

In this conjugal *Tumulus* of Pontano's the flower 'Hyacinthus', mingled with 'roses' (*rosæ*), is watered by the 'tears' (*lachrymis*) of the husband, just as the widow(er)'s 'violets' (Pontano, vv. 1–2 *violaria* / *violas*; cf. Du Bellay, *Tum.* 27c, v. 1: *has violas*) are similarly watered in Du Bellay's *Tum.* 27c (v. 3: *Addimus et lacrymas*), and 'scattered' 'to boot', together now with the widow's 'tears', 'upon the ashes' (v. 2: *Spargimus in cineres... tuos*) of her 'most beloved husband' (v. 1: *charissime coniux*, the recently deceased Salmon Macrin), addressed, significantly, in terms of endearment recalling the ghostly Creusa's salutation to her husband Aeneas (Verg. *Aen.* 2.777: *o dulcis coniux*). Also in *Tum.* 27c, such 'tears' are perceived as being potentially instrumental in 'transforming' the weeping woman 'into a flower', the heliotrope (*Tum.* 27c, v. 4: *utinam in florem versa forem è lacrymis*), indeed, like Clytie in Ovid *Met.* 4.259–70,³³—or even 'into a rock', after the fashion of the bereaved Niobe (Ov. *Met.* 6. 309–12),³⁴ according to the widow's similar wish just expressed (to her dead 'husband') in the preceding *Tum.* 27b (vv. 1–2: *utinamque, marite, / In saxum è lacrymis versa forem Niobe*).

These flower-symbols of conjugal grief, which constitute thus the 'final presents' (*Tum.* 27c, v. 2: *ultima dona*) of conjugal love, also echo intratextually the opening of Du Bellay's preceding dialogue-*nænia* (*Tum.* 26), where the widowed husband offers to the 'ashes' (v. 2: *cineri... tuo*) of his deceased spouse 'tears' 'instead of violets' (v. 1: *Pro violis lacrymas*), and where (vv. 3–4) the *umbra* of this 'spouse' replies by asking 'rather' for 'violets' (*Tu potius violas...*) and 'lilies'

³² See Nichols F.J. (ed.), *An Anthology of neo-latin poetry*, (note 2): 1979) 164–67, 666 (note); and *Carmina illustrium poetarum Italorum* [ed. G. Bottari], 11 vols. (Florence: 1719–26), VII (1720) 444–45. The dialogic scenario of this *tumulus* also recalls Pontano's "Tumulus Sulpitianae (Viator & Umbra colloquuntur)" (*Carmina illustrium* [ed. G. Bottari] VII (1720) 467–68), where once more this is a dialogue between a 'passer-by' and other 'tutelary shades' (*custodes umbræ*).

³³ See Demerson G. (ed.), note on *Tum.* 27c, in Du Bellay J., *Œuvres poétiques* VII (note 15) 332.

³⁴ Where Niobe weeps the death of her children and is thus transformed into a 'rock' (v. 309: *saxum*), or rather, into 'marble' ever 'weeping' 'still' (v. 312: *lacrimas etiam nunc marmora manant*).

‘mingled with roses’ (*lilia mista rosis*) (as on the tomb of Pontano’s Adriana), and ‘in whole basketfuls’ (*plenis... canistris*). Moreover, other intertextual resonances at play here include Vergil *Geor.* 4.280 (‘place in whole basketfuls’ [*plenis appone canistris*]), and Anchises’ expression of grief for the (future) untimely death of the young Marcellus, nephew of Augustus, in *Aen.* 6.883–84 (‘give whole handfuls of lilies / and let me scatter brightly coloured flowers’ [*manibus date lilia plenis / purpureosque spargam flores*])).³⁵

Likewise, the widow’s refusal in *Tum.* 27a, to ‘erect’ either ‘a marble tomb’ for the ‘ashes’ of her dead husband (vv. 1–2: *Marmore de Pario... / Nec cineri statuam picta sepulchra tuo*), or a ‘marble’ mausoleum (as did Artemisia II, Queen of Caria for her brother and husband Mausolus [vv. 11–12]), echoes the same opening of Du Bellay’s dialogic *Nænia-Tum.* 26, where, conversely, it is the *maritus* (that [Mausolus-like] ‘husband’-‘brother’) who offers his ‘lamentations’ ‘instead of’ any such ‘marble’ monument (v. 1: *gemitus pro marmore pono*), as the only proper monument for the ‘ashes’ of his *uxor* (of his [Artemisia-like] ‘wife’-‘sister’). Moreover, this structural mirror-effect is reinforced by the juxtaposition of *Tum.* 26 and *Tum.* 27a–c, as well as by the alternation in *Tum.* 26 of the voice of the grief-stricken *maritus* and the consoling, virtuous voice of the *uxoris umbra*.

Here, in *Tum.* 26, in response to the violent grief and ‘tears’ of her ‘husband’ (*Tum.* 26, vv. 5–6: *lacrymis / -mæ*), the ‘ghost of the wife’ reminds him that ‘tears are ineffective’ and ‘cannot change our fates’ (*Tum.* 26, v. 7: *Nil lacrymæ possunt, lacrymis haud fata moventur*)—a piece of consolatory wisdom which echoes the precept of the Greek comic poet Philemon criticising excessive grief in the face of life’s ‘woes’, quoted by Plutarch in his *Consolatio ad Apollonium* (“Consolation to Apollonius [on the death of a son]”), and transposed into Latin verse by Andrea Navagero (1483–1529) in his *Carmina* of 1530 (which inspired some of the poems of Du Bellay’s contemporary ‘Roman’ [1553–57] French vernacular poetic collection, his *Divers Jeux Rustiques, et autres œuvres poétiques* [Paris: 1558]):

FROM PHILEMON.

If tears afforded any remedy for our woes,
And the pain of the griever were always lessened as a result,

³⁵ See Demerson G. (ed.), note on *Tum.* 26, in Du Bellay J., *Œuvres poétiques VII* (note 15) 331.

We would have to buy tears with gold no less.
 But in fact, master, they are useless; they change
 Nothing: whether you are ever crying,
 Or never, events take the same course.
 Why then do we take pleasure in tears? In truth, for no reason at all:
 yet,
 Just as a tree bears fruit, so grief bears tears.³⁶

Again, for Stefano Carrai,³⁷ there may even be here, in the similar sentiment of Du Bellay's *Tum.* 26, a precise verbal echo of the ancient dialogic epitaph of 'Homonea' and her (surviving) husband 'Atimetus' (v. 9: Homonea's consoling reply to Atimetus, 'Tears are of no avail, nor can our fates be changed' [*Nil prosunt lacrimae nec possunt fata moveri*]), as well as a further resonance in sympathy with Cornelia's opening admonition about the futility of 'tears' in Propertius's above-mentioned elegy (4.11.2: 'The black gates [of the Underworld] open to no prayers' [*panditur ad nullas ianua nigra preces*]). Be that as it may, as a result of Du Bellay's picking up, 'appropriating', and adding to such an intertextual polyphony, stretching from Antiquity to the High Italian Renaissance, it is precisely such a criticism of excessive grief and 'tears', and of their counter-productive futility, that furnishes the conclusion of French Du Bellay's *Tumulus*-dialogue 26 (vv. 43–46), where the *uxoris umbra* ('Gelonis') reproaches her husband (Salmon Macrin) for his 'sad laments' (v. 43: *tristes... querelas*) and 'tears', which 'disturb' her Christian 'joy' in heaven [like Petrarch's Laura] (v. 44: *Turbantur lacrymis gaudia nostra tuis*), but which this husband cannot help 'offering' to his wife, the 'tears' streaming all the while from his 'eyes', which otherwise he would also have 'given' her (v. 45: *Vt tibi do lacrymas, oculos sic ipse dedissem*), as he 'weeps eternally' for his departed wife (v. 46: *Ni mihi perpetuo collacrymanda fores*). In addition, as Geneviève

³⁶ Navagero A., *Orationes duae, carminaque nonnulla* (Venice: 1530), fol. XLr [= Plutarch, *Consolatio ad Apollonium, Moralia*, 101F–122A (105F [8])]:

EX PHILEMONE.

Siquid remedi lacrimae afferrent malis:
 Minorque semper fieret lugenti dolor:
 Auro parandae lacrimae nobis forent.
 Sed nil here istaec prosunt: res ipsae nihil
 Moventur istis: sive tu semper fleas,
 Seu nunquam, eandem pergere insistens viam.
 Quid his iuvamur ergo? nil certe: at dolor
 Vt ipsa fructus arbor, sic lacrimas habet.

³⁷ Carrai S., "Du Bellay e Omonea" (note 25) 455, 457.

Demerson had pointed out in her commentary at this point, this also constitutes potentially an elegiac transformation of the *mignard* Catullan (82) and Bellayan (*Regrets* [1558] ss. 41, 75; *Poemata: Amores* Ded. & 24 “Ad Gordium”) motif ‘aimer plus que ses yeux’.³⁸

It is also with just such an exhortation, in harmony with Philemon’s advice, Cornelia’s and Homonoëa’s, that in *Tum.* 26, the virtuous ghost of the deceased wife (‘Gelonis’) exhorts her husband to bear her death patiently, with philosophical resignation, as something that cannot be changed by any show of grief:

[HIS] WIFE’S SHADE

But since it is in vain that with tears and prayers you demand this [my return],

What you cannot change, think of as having to be borne.³⁹

Moreover, she does so in responding to her husband’s (putatively, Salmon Macrin’s) wish, expressed in vv. 9–10, that he might, like Alcestis,⁴⁰ substitute himself for her, and so embrace a ‘sweet death’ (*dulce mori*) in her stead (a wish that Salmon Macrin has now in fact fulfilled (belatedly and partly) in October 1557, seven years and four months after the death of his ‘Gelonis’):

HUSBAND

Oh! If only I were allowed to exchange your death with mine,

How sweet it would be for me, alas, wretched as I am, to die!⁴¹

Indeed, these sentiments of profound conjugal grief and desire for self-immolation, echo both Alcestis’s offer of self-sacrifice and the subsequent guilt-ridden regret of Admetus before the spectacle of his dying wife, in the very opening of the *Alcestis* of Euripides, as translated by Buchanan. Again, for Stefano Carrai,⁴² the intertextuality of

³⁸ See Demerson G. (ed.), note *ad loc.*, in Du Bellay J., *Œuvres poétiques* VII (note 15) 331.

³⁹ Du Bellay J., *Poemata* (1558) (note 12) fol. 54v: *Tum.* 26, vv. 11–12:

VX[ORis vmbra].

ast hoc cum frustra lacrymis precibusque reposcas

Quæ mutare nequis, illa ferenda puta.

⁴⁰ See Demerson G. (ed.), note *ad loc.*, in Du Bellay J., *Œuvres poétiques* VII (note 15) 198.

⁴¹ Du Bellay J., *Poemata* (1558) (note 12) fol. 54v: *Tum.* 26, vv. 9–10:

MAR[itVs].

O mihi pensare meis tua fata liceret,

Quam foret, hei, misero nunc mihi dulce mori !

⁴² Carrai S., “Du Bellay e Omonea” (note 25) 458.

this exclamation of grief, may also include, through close verbal echo, the putative lamentation of Homonœa's husband Atimetus, who in the opening four verses of the second part of Homonœa's funeral inscription, expresses the desire to trade his own life for that of his wife:

[ATIMETVS]

If only cruel fate were to allow the exchange of souls,
And it were possible to obtain another's salvation with one's own death,
Whatever little length of time is allotted to me
I would have exchanged with you, dear Homonœa, willingly.⁴³

This grief-stricken wish complements Homonœa's own cooler, more conventional address to a passer-by in the first part of this doubly dialogic funeral epitaph:

[HOMONCEA]

You who pass by, free from care, do but stay your step
A little while, I pray, and read these few words.
I am that Homonœa, who once was preferred to illustrious girls,
But am buried now in this narrow tomb.
I am she to whom Aphrodite granted beauty, and the Graces gracefulness,
I am she whom Pallas instructed in all her arts.⁴⁴

Above all, in Du Bellay's *Tum.* 26, the tragic survivor of the couple, the *maritus*, is inconsolable like the Admetus of Euripides and Buchanan (and like Protesilaus's surviving spouse Laodamia), because

⁴³ Epitaph of Homonœa [& Atimetus], vv. 13–16, *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, VI, II, 12562 [= Buecheler F. (ed.), *Carmina latina epigraphica*, 3 vols. (Leipzig, Teubner: 1894–1926; suppl. E. Lommatzsch; re-pr. Amsterdam: 1972), II, 459, n. 995; also in Garrod H.W. (ed.), *The Oxford Book of Latin Verse* (Oxford: 1912), and Carrai S., “Du Bellay e Omonea” (note 25) 457–58]:

[ATIMETVS]

Si pensare animas sinerent crudelia fata,
et posset redimi morte aliena salus,
quantulacumque meæ debentur tempora vitæ,
pensassem pro te, cara Homonœa, libens.

⁴⁴ Epitaph of Homonœa [& Atimetus], vv. 1–6 (cf. Carrai S., “Du Bellay e Omonea” (note 25) 458–59):

[HOMONCEA]

Tu qui secunda procedis mente, parumper
siste gradum, quæso, uerbaque pauca lege.
Illa ego quæ claris fueram prælata puellis,
hoc Homonœa brevi condita sum tumulo.
Cui formam Paphie, Charites tribuere decorem,
quam Pallas cunctis artibus erudiit.

he is 'deprived' of his wife who is his very 'life' (*mea vita*), whilst, conversely, his 'spouse'-*umbra* is deprived of the 'light of day', which he, her husband, still 'enjoys' (*Tum.* 26, vv. 17–18: *Ergo mihi posthac te, te (mea vita) carendum est, / Et potero infœlix te sine luce frui?*); she is also deprived of their two children, a 'son' (*natus*) and a 'daughter' (*nata*), 'the greatest part of us' (*Tum.* 26, v. 19: *pars maxima nostri*),⁴⁵ twin tokens of their love which will remain with this widower (like the two orphaned children of Alcestis and Admetus in Euripides' / Buchanan's tragedy).

Indeed, also like Admetus in the *Alcestis*,

AD[METVS].

Fear not; it shall be so, so it shall. For just as
In life you alone were called my wife, so also in death you alone
Will bear that title: nor, in your stead, will any other spouse
Of Thessaly call me her husband.⁴⁶

—but also like Salmon Macrin in his *Næniæ* of 1550 for his 'Gelonis' ('I am resolved in future to lead a celibate / life' [*Cælibem vitam statuo in futuram / vivere*])—,⁴⁷ the grief-stricken *maritus* of Du Bellay's *Tum.* 26 will swear eternal fidelity to his 'spouse' (*coniux*): 'no other wife' (*nupta*) 'will succeed' her in their 'marriage-bed' (*Tum.* 26, v. 33: *Nulla tuo, coniux, succedet nupta cubili*). Conversely, the *uxoris umbra* will reply (vv. 35–36) that such a promise will assure them both their 'eventual' eternal 'union' 'in Elysium' (*sub Elysiis iungemur vallibus olim*), no less than it will procure burial of their 'ashes' and 'bones' in a 'common' tomb (*idem cineres et teget ossa lapis*), to be shared like a second nuptial bed. This conceit of nuptial union in both life and death anticipates *Tum.* 29 of Du Bellay's conjugal cycle (a poem equating a shared 'tomb' [v. 3: *tumulus*] with the 'marriage-bed' [v. 1: *thalamus*])—

⁴⁵ Echoing and adapting (on the topic of survival after death) Hor. C.3.30.6–7: 'I shall not die completely; a great part of me / will escape Libitina [goddess of funerals]' (*non omnis moriar multaque par mei / vitabit Libitinam*), and Ov. *Met.* 15.875–76: 'In my better part, however, immortal, beyond the high / stars, shall I be carried' (*parte tamen meliore mei super alta perennis / astra ferar*).

⁴⁶ Euripides *Alc.*, vv. 329–32, transl. G. Buchanan (note 21) 526:

AD[METVS].

Ne metue, fient ista, fient. Nam mea
Viva ut fuisti sola, sola mortua
Dicere conjux: nec tuo ulla me loco
Suum vocabit sponsa Thessalis virum.

⁴⁷ Salmon Macrin J., *Næniæ* (1550) (note 5) 37 (II.6.57–60); see Carrai S., "Du Bellay e Omonea" (note 25) 456.

just as it anticipates, more immediately, *Tum.* 27a, where, conversely, the widow addresses the ‘ashes’ of her ‘husband’ (*in cineres mariti*), predicting for them both a future ‘reunion’ ‘long after’ ‘in the Elysium of their desires’ (*Tum.* 27a, vv. 17–18: *Donec longa dies... / Nos iterum optato iungat in Elysio*).

It is this same motif of the interdependency, the interchangeability, and the loving exchange, of the lives of the two spouses, ‘appropriated’ by Du Bellay above all from the *Alcestis*, that closes symbolically the duet of this *naenia* for two in *Tum.* 26. Towards the end of the poem (vv. 37–42), the widowed ‘husband’ (again, putatively Salmon Macrin prior to his death in 1557) will still regret (like Admetus) his own painful survival, and the *uxoris umbra* will (like *Alcestis*, or *Cornelia* [Propertius, 4.11.95: ‘May the time that has been taken from me be added to your years’ (*quod mihi detractum est, vestros accedat ad annos*)] wish for her ‘husband’ a long life, ‘made up’ precisely of the ‘years’ which might have been hers, but which henceforth will ‘belong’ to her spouse:

HUSBAND

Meanwhile, then, I shall carry on living, oh so reluctantly, without you,
You who deserved to see out all my days.

[HIS] WIFE’S SHADE

So that you may yet live long for [many] happy years,
Live, best of husband, live both your years and mine.

HUSBAND

I shall live, then, but without you, who are dearer to me than life itself;
So shall I live that I may [only] know long sadness.⁴⁸

Oddly too, here, in this exchange, the *umbra* of the deceased wife forbids her husband any necromantic attempt to summon back her *manes* from the tomb, in what is incidentally (for Carrai) a precise verbal echo of Ovid (*Trist.* 3.11.32: ‘Refrain, I pray you, from disturbing my spirit’ [*Parce, precor, manes sollicitare meos*]), as well as an echo of

⁴⁸ Du Bellay J., *Poemata* (1558) (note 12) fol. 55r–v: *Tum.* 26, vv. 37–42:

MAR [ITVS].

Interea invitus vivam tibi nempe superstes,

Quæ fueras nostros vivere digna dies.

VX[ORIS VMBRA].

Vt superesse queas lætos longævus in annos,

Vive tuos, coniux optime, vive meos.

MAR[ITVS].

Vivam. sed sine te, vita ô mihi charior ipsa,

Sic vivam, possim mœstus ut esse diu.

the opening of Homonœa's reply to Atimetus in the above mentioned funeral inscription (vv. 7–8: '*Refrain*, my husband, from wracking the time of your youth with weeping / and *disturbing* my fate with grieving!' [Parce tuam, coniux, fletu quassare iuventam / fataque mærendo sollicitare mea!]):

HUSBAND

If at least it might be permitted me to summon your ghost from the tomb,

And to see your face just once with these eyes of mine!

[HIS] WIFE'S SHADE

As that pious wish of your is in fact impious, and that art [of necromancy] wicked,

Refrain, I pray you, from disturbing my spirit.⁴⁹

Interestingly, this denial of any necromantically induced, dialogic exchange between husband and wife potentially problematises the very status of the female *umbra* in *Tum.* 26, suggesting rather that she is a product of the widowed husband's grieving interior imagination, rather than a conjured up, vocal 'spirit or 'shade' (*manes* / *umbra*). It also suggests, metatextually, a *literary* construct, the image of 'Gelonis' as she was formerly celebrated, Laura-like, by Salmon Macrin in life and in death, in his conjugal lyric poetry and in his *Næniæ*. Indeed, the latter interpretation is borne out by the *uxoris umbra*'s ('Gelonis's') consolatory expression of gratitude (*Tum.* 26, vv. 21–24) towards her husband (the recently deceased Salmon Macrin), who had showered her with praise in mourning her, and who had made her poetically immortal (no less than Du Bellay's 'Neæra' in *Tum.* 24) and just as Macrin had wished in his liminary ode addressed to Du Bellay in *L'Olive* of 1550:

HUSBAND

Ho! Where now is that chaste love, probity, purity, modesty
And dutifulness rivalling that of ancient times!

[HIS] WIFE'S SHADE

Our spirit may now soar above the stars, and

⁴⁹ Du Bellay J., *Poemata* (1558) (note 12) fol. 54v: *Tum.* 26, vv. 13–16:

MAR [ITVS].

Saltem si liceat manes excire sepulchro,

Et semel his oculis ora videre tua !

VX[ORIS VMBRA].

Impia quandoquidem hæc pietas, arsque ista nefanda est,

Parce precor manes sollicitare meos.

Our renown travel across the world: this those qualities have won for me.⁵⁰

Now, it is in the light of such an intertextual interpretation of Du Bellay's conjugal cycle of *Tumuli*—which privileges above all a dialogic relation to Salmon Macrin's poetic corpus as the prime, contemporary key, to this parade of ancient and early modern intertexts—that we can discern in the triple *lacrymæ* of *Tum.* 27a–c a final homage paid to Macrin, at the heart of this cycle, by his 'Gelonis'. She thus replies to his grieving 'tears' of *Tum.* 26, as well as to those of Macrin's *Næniæ* of 1550, but with her own 'tears' now as a grieving, conjugal 'shade', having just become herself, putatively, a widow of sorts with the death of her surviving husband in October 1557. These *Lacrymæ* of 'Gelonis' will now in their turn constitute, more than any 'marble', a worthy poetic *Tumulus* for her husband Salmon Macrin, erstwhile poet of conjugal love and mourning:

I myself, instead of brilliant marble, will offer a monument of tears;
Forever shall I mourn thus your ghost.⁵¹

Yet these triple 'tears' of *Tum.* 27a–c promise and celebrate also (as do *Tum.* 28–30, which follow them) the final reunion in death of the newly deceased *maritus* Salmon Macrin and of his *uxor* 'Gelonis', not just in a shared urn, nor just, alternatively, in the Christian Heaven, but also (poetically, and metapoetically) in the 'myrtle' shades of 'Elysium', reserved for lovers and love-poets, in the immortal and blessed company of the *umbræ* of Calvus, Catullus, Gallus, Tibullus, and Ovid:

⁵⁰ Du Bellay J., *Poemata* (1558) (note 12) fols 54v–55r: *Tum.* 26, vv. 21–24: MAR [ITVS].

Heus, ubi castus amor, probitas, candorque, pudorque,
Et pietas priscis æmula temporibus !
VX[ORIS VMBRA].

Vt noster super astra volet nunc spiritus, utque
Fama obeat terras ista dedere mihi.

⁵¹ Du Bellay J., *Poemata* (1558) (note 12) fol. 55v: *Tum.* 27a "In cineres mariti uxoris lacrymæ", vv. 15–16:

Ipsa ego candenti lacrymas pro marmore ponam,
Perpetuò manes sic gemitura tuos.

A motif of the gift of 'tears' in substitution for other gifts, recalling for Carrai S., "Du Bellay e Omonea" (note 25) 456 a thematic typical of the funeral verses of Marullus (*Epigr.* III.16: 'These tears upon thee...we bestow' [*Has lacrimas tibi...damus*]) and of Pontano (*Tum.* I.37–38: 'Instead of my breasts, accept my tears / O my son' [*pro mammis lacrimas / nate cape*]).

Then a valley of myrtle will behold our souls passing together [in Elysium],
And the same urn will contain both our ashes.⁵²

—or so we should believe, if we can hear, resonating in sympathy here, the famous Ovidian intertext of *Am.* 3.9.59–66, mourning the death of Tibullus residing now with the other Roman love-poets in *Elysia valle*, or indeed, if we can still hear in counterpoint Salmon Macrin's own liminary verses of 1550 for Du Bellay's *L'Olive*, setting out his (and Du Bellay's) neo-Latin and vernacular poetic agenda, in rivalry with Petrarch himself.

In short, Du Bellay's momentary, untypical 'appropriation' and espousal in his *Tumuli* of 1558 of Salmon Macrin's conjugal poetics and its language of love, friendship and grief, for the purpose of erecting / composing a fitting *tombeau* for his recently deceased neo-Latin master, also constitutes, by its shifting, kaleidoscopic intertextuality, an act of homage to Salmon Macrin's own 'appropriation' of, and polyphonic dialogue with, the poets of ancient Rome and Renaissance Italy, whose notes and harmonies thus also command our rapt attention, in what transpires, in (and through) Du Bellay's surface text, to be an intertextual and metapoetic *mise en abîme*. Indeed, like the harmonics of a musical note, these underlying Classical and Renaissance intertexts lend this distinctively Macrinian motif and melody, imitated and embedded symbolically at the heart of Joachim Du Bellay's *Poemata*, in this 'conjugal' cycle of the *Tumuli*, its own peculiar, unmistakeable *timbre*.

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⁵² Du Bellay J., *Poemata* (1558) (note 12) fol. 56r: *Tum.* 27a "In cineres mariti uxoris lacrymae", vv. 19–20:

Myrtea tunc animas vallis spectabit euntes [in Elysio],
Atque eadem cineres conteget urna duos.

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CHAPTER FIVE

TAKING OCCASION BY THE FORELOCK: DUTCH POETS AND APPROPRIATION OF OCCASIONAL POEMS

HARM-JAN VAN DAM

Introduction

Writing occasional verse brings little fame. Nevertheless the Latin humanists produced it in enormous quantities, and for most occasions they could and did make use of ancient models. How did they cope with, process and appropriate this classical Latin poetry? In the following I shall, after some preliminary remarks on definitions and problems, and on translation as a means of appropriation, examine how Dutch Neolatin poets from the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries handled three subgenres of occasional poetry, the *epithalamium*, the *epicedion*, and liminal verse. Since any discussion of the vast ocean of occasional verse must perforce be limited to grazing across the tip of one small iceberg, I have chosen material relatively well known to me, in the hope that this has a wider scope and will at least suggest some patterns of appropriation in this humble, yet revealing poetry. For occasional verse is one point where literature and history, or fiction and reality, intersect. More than most other kinds it may show us the conditions under which literature is produced, received and functions, precisely because of its relation to contemporary reality. Since occasional verse is provoked by events which are of all time but take place in specific historical circumstances, it adapts and appropriates existing forms, thus opening itself to approaches from New Historicism or from intertextuality. Besides, it may inform us about the biographical and historical facts, be instrumental in the self-fashioning of the poet, and serve as a key to unlock networks of European intellectual history.¹

¹ Compare Heinz Hofmann's remarks on one desideratum of Neolatin Studies in *Neulateinisches Jahrbuch* 2 (2000) 88: 'Studien...welche die Autoren und Texte, aber auch die Bedingungen von Textproduktion und -rezeption und die Funktionen untersucht, welche die lateinische Literatur im Kontext der volkssprachlichen Literaturen,

Panegyrics, Patrons and Occasion

Occasion, praise and a client-patron relationship are closely linked: every occasional poem is a laudatory poem,² but not all panegyric poetry is written for a certain occasion.³ In ancient Latin verse of this kind literary patronage is a decisive factor, that is to say an asymmetrical relationship between poet and patron—although both use the language of friendship.⁴ In late renaissance Holland on the other hand, without a royal court and with relatively few noblemen, much poetry was exchanged between friends and equals. Whereas Janus Secundus (1511–1536) in the beginning of the sixteenth century still spent much of his time looking for a patron, and hopefully composing panegyric poetry for royalty, change was on its way. The economic development and urbanization of the Northern Netherlands, their war with Spain, the exchange of hierarchical Roman Catholicism for a more egalitarian religion and society, and the founding of Leiden University in 1575 all brought change: the professors, indeed the rectors of Latin schools, burgomasters, administrators, doctors, preachers, merchants and the well-to-do bourgeois in general, might still need a social network, but only a few sustained relationships were really asymmetrical. In Dutch Neolatin poetry literary patronage plays virtually no part. Nevertheless, praise of the poet's equals and betters is at the heart of the three examples I will discuss below. They will be focused on the two *primi inter pares* of Dutch Neolatin poetry, Hugo Grotius (1583–1645) and Daniel Heinsius (1580–1655), the former a brilliant poet, politician, jurist, historian and theologian, the latter a young and ambitious professor, renowned as a highly-gifted poet all over Europe.⁵

der Zeitgenössischen Gesellschaft....besitzt'. The discussion on issues and prospects of Neolatin in *Symbolae Osloenses* 76 (2001), opened by Hans Helander, concentrates on the concept of Neolatin and on prose.

² Even poetry of consolation, for the virtues of the deceased are the main ground for consolation. I use the term 'occasional poetry' here as a general, not a generic, term.

³ Apart from ancient examples such as panegyric epic or Statius' non-occasional *Silvae*, an early Italian poet such as Giannantonio Campano (1429–77), who wrote poetry for several patrons, has hardly any occasional poetry, see Beer S. de, *Poetry and Patronage. Literary Strategies in the poems of Giannantonio Campano* (Diss. Amsterdam: 2007) 35–7, with her terminological reservations.

⁴ See Nauta R.R., *Poetry for Patrons: Literary Communication in the Age of Domitian* (Leiden: 2002) 11–34.

⁵ On Grotius the standard work is now Nellen H.J.M., *Hugo de Groot: een leven in strijd om de vrede, 1583–1645* (Amsterdam: 2007). On his poetry, see Meulenbroek B.L. – Eyffinger A.C.G.M. – Rabbie E. (eds.), *De dichtwerken van Hugo Grotius* (Assen:

In any attempt to define occasional poetry a first criterion is, of course, that there is a certain social occasion where poetry is produced as an ‘institutionalised communicatory act’.⁶ All occasional poetry is social, but not all social poetry is occasional. Forms of address in the title may reflect this: some poems are simply addressed to someone or something in a general way.⁷ Other poems do address a friend or patron on a particular occasion: “to my friend so and so when...”, and rank as occasional poems.⁸ However, in practice this distinction is more difficult than it seems: the poems often lack titles; in other cases these are given not by the author but by an anonymous editor. To my mind an occasional poem is a single, laudatory poem, referring to a social occasion (preferably of some importance), with at least one other person than the poet himself.⁹

Epigrams may belong to the category of occasional verse; Martial’s poetry proves as much. This is a rather a question of form versus function: a poem may be called an epigram if it is a short poem, perhaps with some point, which draws attention to its own form, and in some cases is fit for inscription on a tomb, whereas on the level of its function it may be an occasional poem. Nevertheless, it may not always be easy to decide what that function is: is a poem of one distich *In nuptias*

1972–1992) 10 vols. (in progress). On Heinsius, see now Lefèvre E. – Schäfer E. (eds.), *Daniel Heinsius, Klassischer Philologe und Poet* (Tübingen: 2008).

⁶ Quotation from Nauta R., (note 4) 163. I found Segebrecht W., *Das Gelegenheitsgedicht* (Stuttgart: 1977) less useful than one might think, perhaps because the German discussion of the subject is heavily influenced by Romantic critical ideas. Its division into four aspects, however, is good (p. 68 ff.): occasion (national/public/private, kind), poem (functions: didactic, amusement, consolation), author (position, commissioned or not, amateur or professional), addressee (position, commissioned or not, use of the poem).

⁷ In Heinsius’ poetry for instance *In urbem Gerardi Montium*, or *Ad Musas Cornelii Rekenarii apud quas Theocritum suum... inchoaret*. By this criterion titles such as “On the City of Ghent, when he surveyed it from one of its towers” (*in urbem Gandavum, cum ex ejusdem urbis turri eam conspiceret*, Heinsius) refer to a moment rather than to an occasion, just as all poetry in *Alba amicorum* (but what of valedictions there?).

⁸ In Heinsius for instance *In nobilissimam Brugarum urbem, cum aliquoties ab... eius magistratu publice exceptus esset*, or *Ad N.V. Cornelium van der Myle, cum non amplius Academiae cura fungeret*. In this respect also the founding of the university in 1575, which gave rise to groups of colleagues and friends with their common activities, seems to have marked a division: not a few poems from the early 1570s by Janus Douza are addressed to friends, but rarely upon a given occasion.

⁹ The last criterion would exclude sympotic poetry. As far as I can see, this rather belongs to erotic poetry, for example Heinsius *Monobiblos* 7 (ed. 1603), where Bacchus is invoked for four partying friends.

Samuelis Flori et Rosae Gryneae, which plays on the flower theme, only a flourish of epigrammatic wit or does it refer to an occasion?¹⁰

Problems of definition apart, the bulk by far of these humanist Latin poems, like their ancient counterparts, concern a few fixed milestones in life: birth, wedding, death, going away on a journey and returning;¹¹ specific and productive humanist occasions are academic publication of a book and academic promotion.

In ancient poetry we distinguish two levels, that of occasionality, on which a poem gets only a single reception, at the moment of performance, and the level of “publication”, which enables multiple reception. In practice there were many intermediate forms.¹² The invention of the printing press made the original distinction far less important, though it is replaced to some extent by that between poetry in separate issues and in volumes of collected poetry. Indeed, whether or not a poem was actually performed and had a reception at the occasion to which it refers, is important to literary and cultural history, but is irrelevant for its status as an occasional poem. Secondly, in and by a poem the poet sometimes takes the reader through the proceedings of a wedding or funeral in “mimetic” fashion, that is to say he describes the ceremony or proceedings as they unfold; this may happen especially in the epithalamium. Again, this is certainly relevant to narratology or interpretation, but it proves nothing about the real-life performance of the piece.¹³ Some occasional verse is written for occasions which the poet did not attend. This is, of course, often the case in funeral poetry and poetry of mourning, but a poet may also have missed a wedding, as for instance Elias Putsch (1580–1606), who opens a long poem on the wedding of a

¹⁰ By Bonaventura Vulcanius, in Leiden University Library Cod. Vulc. 103 II f. 91 n° 19. But in Heinsius’ *In vesanum qui... ad mactandum Principem Auriacum... manum obtulerat* the social element seems to be lacking.

¹¹ That is, they conform to the rhetorical genres of ‘Menander rhetor’ applied to poetry by J.C. Scaliger in his *Poetics* 3. 95–126, see Deitz L., *Julius Caesar Scaliger. Poetics libri septem*, Band II (Stuttgart-Bad Canstatt: 1994) 40, and Dam H.-J. van, “Wandering woods again. From Poliziano to Grotius”, in J.L.L. Smolenaars – H.-J. van Dam – R.R. Nauta (eds.), *The poetry of Statius* (Leiden: 2008), also below. On the genres, see Cairns F., *Generic composition in Greek and Roman poetry* (Edinburgh: 1972) 70: ‘All the genres originate in important, recurrent real-life situations’, also Nauta R., (note 4) 273 ff.

¹² Nauta 33 ff. and *passim*.

¹³ Nauta R., (note 4) 249 ff., where it is shown that in Statius *Silvae* 1.2 the poet’s pretence of describing the wedding ceremony is fictional, see also below on Grotius.

friend with *nuper, ut... audiui*.¹⁴ Non-attendance is especially frequent in poems written on the occasion of royal weddings and the like. In poems for royalty with whom the poet is not personally acquainted the emotional and social distance between poet and addressee, and between poet or poem and occasion, are greater than in most cases; it would be interesting to test the hypothesis that these poems are longer, more mythological and more 'distant' than other instances where we know that poet and addressee were closer.¹⁵ In theory even the whole occasion of the poem might be fictional, though this, in contrast to erotic poetry,¹⁶ seems hardly ever to be the case. It hardly needs saying that, even though the occasion is real enough, the poems should not be taken literally; on the other hand, the temptation to do so is nowhere greater than in humanist occasional poetry with its emphatic claim to represent real people in real situations; and sometimes events presented in verse as real are in fact corroborated by documentary evidence. Indeed I am convinced that historians have neglected this kind of poetry as a source of information to a high degree. On the other hand, Neolatinists are reluctant to return to nineteenth century attitudes to literature as a source of factual information. In steering a middle course between those and an exaggerated fear of the biographical fallacy, critics must put the tools of both intertextuality and New Historicism to good use. As far as I can see, the humanists took Statius' *epicedia* or Claudian's *epithalamia* as more or less straightforward representations of the poets' contemporary realities—apart, that is, from the mythological trappings. But in appropriating their poetry they to a large extent renounced the real occasions.

Occasional Poetry: silva(e)

The best known ancient collection of occasional verse is Statius' *Silvae*. It is well known that ancient literary theory has nothing to say about

¹⁴ In *Delitiae Poetarum Belgicorum* vol. 3, 841–44 on the wedding of Ioh. Hertog, see also below on Grotius.

¹⁵ Also by formal linguistic criteria, such as the use of deictic pronouns and adverbs, and first-person verbs. As we shall see, I think that these differences would not be significant.

¹⁶ Among fictional mistresses and imagined situations pride of place is perhaps taken by Paulus Melissus who modelled his life after his poetry, see E. Schäfer in A. Aurnhammer (ed.), *Francesco Petrarca in Deutschland* (Tübingen: 2006), 91–110.

lyric poetry, let alone about occasional poetry. Renaissance criticism and practice based itself on the one hand upon notions developed by Poliziano, on the other hand on the influential *Poetics* of J.C. Scaliger of the late 1540s. This work is a landmark in the appropriation of occasional poetry insofar as it projected (Greek) prose genres upon Latin poetry. As a result the title *silvae* (or rather *sylvae*) became a comprehensive term for all kinds of shorter poems, occasional or not, whereas *epithalamia*, *epicedia*, *genethliaca* and similar occasional productions are found within collections or books called not *Silvae*, but *Farrago*, *Eclogae*, *Odae*, and even more under their own generic designations.¹⁷

In early Dutch volumes of poetry *silva* refers merely to variety.¹⁸ It is only at the beginning of the seventeenth century that Hugo Grotius' three books of *Silvae* mix variety with occasionality. They contain respectively *Sacra* (book 1, poems in different metres on themes from the Old and the New Testament), *Patria* (2, on the war against Spain, also on other patriotic themes, such as Grotius' famous epicedium on admiral Heemskerck, but also including a bucolic poem in imitation of Theocritus), and *Epithalamia* (3).¹⁹ The plan of Daniel Heinsius' three books of *Silvae* is different: the first book has four *epithalamia*, two *epicedia*, one *propempticon* and one panegyric of Scaliger's *Thesaurus temporum*. Heinsius himself in the preface draws attention to the unity of the book (*character...fere uniformis est*, if one excepts the Panegyricus), because of the improvised character of the poems, *temeritas*, a typical reference to Statius' *Silvae*. The second book consists of just one *propempticon* followed by the "Apotheosis" of Jacques-Auguste de Thou; the third book 'in quo Funera' contains the *Manes Scaligeri* and the *Manes Lipsiani*. Because of the poetical genres they embrace, the *Silvae* of Grotius and especially Heinsius fall back on antiquity, but Heinsius puts the generic title *Silvae* to his own uses: during his lifetime Heinsius produced eight editions of his collected verse; in each he

¹⁷ On the role of Scaliger's *Poetics*, see also note 11, and below. On the Neolatin *sylva*, see the groundbreaking work of P. Galand-Hallyn, both on the French sixteenth-century *silva* and on the poetics of these "open", "flexible", "dialogic" compositions: Galand-Hallyn P., 1998, 2002, 2004 (see bibliography), also Adam W., *Poetische und Kritische Wälder. Untersuchungen zu Geschichte und Formen des Schreibens "bei Gelegenheit"* (Heidelberg: 1988), and Dam H.-J. van, "Wandering woods" (note 11) 45–51.

¹⁸ In the works of Janus Secundus, father and son Doussa and others, see Dam H.-J. van, "Wandering woods" (note 11) 50–1.

¹⁹ In July 1603, when Grotius was working on his collected poetry for the first time, he had five books of *Silvae*, distinguished from his epigrams: *Grotius Correspondence* n° 45, 28.VII.1603, to Heinsius.

changed the order of poems and books. The *Silvae* were the last books in early editions, but in the course of time they moved to the first place in the volume: by strategically giving this “social” poetry of occasion a more prominent position, Heinsius wished to emphasize his position as an important man at the centre of a network.

In the field of occasional poetry at least *epithalamia* and *Silvae* seem to belong together. Nevertheless, we often find wedding-poems in other parts of Grotius', Heinsius' or others' volumes, under titles such as *in nuptias*;²⁰ therefore we can conclude that in humanist volumes occasional poetry may be found in any part of an author's collected verse, under any heading.

Texts and Translations

Appropriation of ancient culture is sometimes discussed in older works in terms of Mimesis, Influence or Tradition,²¹ or Reception, as if later generations were waiting for antiquity to penetrate and impregnate them. As we know, for all their claims of restoring, the humanists seized upon antiquity and made it their own, first of all by finding the ancient texts, reproducing, translating, mixing and imitating them.²² Latin texts were hunted down with determination, and sometimes appropriation here meant downright theft.²³ The great watershed, the invention of printing in the early renaissance, gave many more readers a chance to take possession of any classical text, reproduced mechanically in exactly

²⁰ For instance eleven wedding poems in Heinsius' *epigrammata et alia poemata extemporanea* (two of them actually entitled *epithalamium*), one in the elegiac book of love poetry *Monobiblos*. Grotius' poetry on the wedding of his friend Pottey is among his *Farrago*. See also below.

²¹ Such as Auerbach E., *Mimesis: dargestellte Wirklichkeit in der abendländischen Literatur*, (Bern: 1964), Bolgar R. (ed.), *Classical Influences on European Culture. Vol. 1 & 2*, (Cambridge: 1971 & 1976) and Highet G., *The Classical Tradition. Greek and Roman influences on Western literature* (London: 1967).

²² See Wyke M. – Biddis M. in their “Introduction” in M. Biddis – M. Wyke, *The Uses and Abuses of Antiquity*, (Bern: 1999). This is not to say that every effect or result of the humanists' contact with ancient literature is deliberate.

²³ Poggio Bracciolini is the first to come to mind, but cf. for instance Erasmus describing the activities of the son of his printer Froben, who was travelling in Italy in 1526: ‘Venatur istic vetusta exemplaria, seu precio seu precerio seu furto seu rapto’ (*Ep.* 1705, to L. Casembroot).

the same form.²⁴ Most early printed classical texts, however, are the result of an editor's arbitrary choice of a manuscript which happened to be at hand, and was "corrected" before it went to press; many of these texts, often emended "ope ingenii" in new editions, became the vulgate for centuries to come.²⁵

The appropriation of ancient texts by the humanists emphatically includes transformation by translation, first of ancient Greek texts into Latin, for few Greek texts were published in the 15th and 16th century without a Latin translation. Some Dutch humanists were quite good at it, such as the first real professor of Greek at Leiden University, Bonaventura Vulcanius (1538–1614), who translated Arrian, Callimachus, Agathias and others in his editions.²⁶ Appropriately, he also published a bilingual lexicon and a book on the Gothic language.²⁷ Translation was a school exercise; teachers took serious Quintilian's advice on its relevance, and Janus Secundus and his brothers translated Lucian's dialogues into Latin verse.²⁸ Then it also took the form of artistic play and display of virtuosity: complete poems of Theocritus were translated into Latin by Grotius and Heinsius, and attached to Heinsius' edition of the poems, together with translations from Latin into Greek.²⁹ And especially 16th–17th century *alba amicorum* and sections of *poemata adoptiva* in learned books abound in inscriptions and original poems, in both Greek and Latin, sometimes also Hebrew or even Arabic.³⁰

²⁴ Cf. e.g. Martin H.-J., *Livre, pouvoirs et société à Paris au XVII^e siècle* (Geneva: 1984) and *La Naissance du livre moderne* (Paris: 2000).

²⁵ Timpanaro S., *The Genesis of Lachmann's method*, ed. and transl. by Glenn Most (Chicago-London: 2005) 45; Kenney E.J., *The Classical Text* (Berkeley: 1974) 12–20, and especially at 12–6 on Andrea De'Bussi (1417–75), the untiring editor of *editiones principes* at Sweynheim and Pannartz in Rome.

²⁶ Arrian in 1575, Vulcanius gives account of his principles in translating on [p.* iiiii] of his edition; Callimachus in 1584, on his translation see [p.* 2v]; Agathias in 1594, on p. 1 he notes: 'interpretandi Graecos auctores et in Latinam linguam convertendi rationem veluti genio naturaeque meae convenientiorem semper amplexus dedi operam...'. His colleague Joseph Scaliger remarked on his ability: 'il tourne fort heureusement ce qu'il a traduit' (*Scaligeriana* 1666, s.v. Vulcanius).

²⁷ *Thesaurus utriusque linguae* (Leiden: 1600) and *De literis et lingua Getarum sive Gothorum* (Leiden: 1597), supplemented with snippets of many other obscure languages.

²⁸ Quint. *Inst.* 10.5.2, cf. Stat. *Silv.* 5.3.159–61, also below.

²⁹ In his edition of Theocritus (Leiden: 1603) Heinsius printed his own translations of *Eidullia* 1, 7, 8 and 9 (pp. 100–17), Grotius' translations of three *Eidullia* (pp. 121–7), translations of Epigrams by both (133–41), Joseph Scaliger's and Heinsius' own Greek translations of Vergil's tenth Eclogue (128–32).

³⁰ Poliziano started translation of Greek bucolic poetry with Moschus' *Amor fugitivus*; it had a vogue in late 16th century Dutch poetry with Vulcanius' translations

Unrivalled in the field of humanist translation is Hugo Grotius' Latin version of the *Greek Anthology*, made in the 1630s but unfortunately remaining in manuscript until 1795.³¹

On the whole, Greek and Latin often intermarry in humanist poetry in ways impossible in classical literature, for instance when Byzantine epigrams are imitated in Latin epigrams, or when Heinsius uses topoi and phrases from Theocritus, Moschos and Bion (let alone Musaios) in his elegiac love-poetry. In his Latin didactic poem *De contemptu mortis*, he drew both on Hesiod and on Nonnus. This kind of translingual emulation and appropriation offers a very satisfying field for further research—to be based on painstaking philological work. In a similar way Grotius mentions in one breath Catullus and Theocritus as the authors of wedding poetry.³² Heinsius, the professor of Greek, also puts literary history to his own authorial uses in emphasizing the “Greekness” of his poetry, when in fact he imitates Latin authors, but wishes to emphasize the erotic element.³³ The wildest author is the Leiden professor Baudius, who repeatedly intersperses his Latin poetry with some Greek lines, and in March 1607 composed two hexametric poems where the first half of each line is Latin and the second half is Greek.³⁴ So the *Kreuzung der Gattungen*, characteristic of humanist poetry, also involved crossing language-borders.

In the late 16th century Netherlands the role of the vernacular became more important:³⁵ Janus Dousa (1545–1604), the founding father of

of Moschos and Bion, also Dousa's translation of the *Epitaphium Bionis*. For *Alba Amicorum*, see that of Janus Dousa in the exemplary production (Leiden: 2000), e.g. 17, 20, 43, 44, 81, 89. Greek and Latin versions abound in the manuscript poetry of Vulcanius in Leiden University Library.

³¹ Meulen J. ter – Diermanse P.J.J., *Bibliographie de Grotius* (The Hague: 1950, reprint Zutphen: 1995) 202–5.

³² On Grotius: *Dichtwerken I 2 A/B 3* (1988) p. 437 rr. 21–2, on Heinsius and Theocritus: Dam H.-J. van, “Daniel Heinsius' Erstlingswerk. Prolegomena zu einer Edition der *Monobiblos*”, in E. Lefèvre – E. Schäfer (eds.), *Daniel Heinsius* (note 5) 186–7.

³³ Dam H.-J. van, “Erstlingswerk” (note 32) 179–88, see also E. Lefèvre – E. Schäfer (eds.), *Daniel Heinsius* (note 5) 31 ff., 127 ff.

³⁴ Grotius H: *Correspondence I* (1922), n° 96 and 97 (pp. 82–4).

³⁵ In Italy and France this had, of course, already happened, in ways and at a pace quite different from the Dutch situation. On Dutch translation as a means of appropriation, see Montoya A.C., “A Woman Translator of Montaigne. Appreciation and Appropriation in Maria Heyns's Bloemhof der doorluchtige voorbeelden (1647)”, in P.J. Smith – K.A.E. Enenkel (eds.), *Montaigne and the Low Countries (1580–1700)*, *Intersections 8* (Leiden: 2007) 223–45, and on translation and appropriation in general: Hermans Th. (ed.), *Translating Others*, 2 vols. (Manchester: 2006).

Leiden University, and his circle were prominent propagators of Dutch poetry, both original and in translation (Dousa translated the *Basia* of Janus Secundus into Dutch).³⁶ The most important figure here is, again, Daniel Heinsius, editor of classical texts in Greek and Latin, virtuoso Latin poet, and the author of highly valued Greek poetry, who wrote a volume of poetry in Dutch, which was acclaimed as (and itself claimed to be) a harbinger of modern poetry, and a volume of emblems with texts in French, Latin and Dutch. His Dutch poetry again is at the origin of the German “Dichterreform”, initiated by Martin Opitz and his sympathizers. This cross-fertilization of languages is complicated, for not only were Heinsius’ Latin poems translated into Dutch (by himself and others) and German, his Dutch poetry was also translated into German and Latin, and in some cases a German translation of a Dutch poem received a new Latin translation.³⁷ Generally speaking, the standard view of Dutch Renaissance culture, that the “Latin scene” and the “Dutch scene” are separate, the one catering for a very restricted group of intellectuals, the other for “the people”, needs revision, and this could be true for different languages (or dialects) in other literatures as well.

Epithalamium and the Occasion: Grotius, Heinsius and Others

In the following I will look at the ways in which Heinsius and Grotius handled the relationships between poem and occasion, and how they restored ancient poetry and put it to their own uses. By far the greater part of separately printed occasional verse celebrates weddings, but of separate Latin editions of *epithalamia* almost nothing is left.³⁸ These

³⁶ Also remaining in manuscript, see Heesakkers C.L., “Secundusverering in Nederland”, *Handelingen van de Koninklijke Kring voor Oudheidkunde, Letteren en Kunst van Mechelen* 90 (1986) 25–37.

³⁷ Cf. Bornemann U., *Anlehnung und Abgrenzung: Untersuchungen zur Rezeption der niederländischen Literatur in den deutschen Dichtungsreform* (Assen: 1976) and Gemert G. van, “Heinsius’ Nacht-clachte in Deutschland”, in H.-P. Ecker (ed.), *Festschrift Harmut Laufhütte* (Passau: 1997) 101–115, and Id., “Zum Verhältnis neulateinischer und muttersprachlicher Dichtung bei Daniel Heinsius”, in E. Lefèvre – E. Schäfer (eds.), *Daniel Heinsius* (note 5) 297–313, also Guépin J.P., *Drietaligheid* (’s-Hertogenbosch: 2003). On the sociological and historical importance of writing in both Latin and the vernacular, see Hofmann’s comments in *Symbolae Osloenses* 76 (note 1).

³⁸ In the catalogues of Dutch libraries: I found no more than 20 to 25 copies, some of them for the same wedding, (notably that of Hugo Grotius in 1608, which people

private *epithalamia* are all in the form of an in-4^o booklet of one quire, mostly containing two poems, of four to six pages altogether; the oldest are of 1594.³⁹

We do not know enough of the actual proceedings at weddings in general,⁴⁰ but it seems hardly possible that the longer Latin poems were in any way performed or recited: more than half of the guests—at least all the female attendants—would not have been able to understand the Latin;⁴¹ and declaiming Latin poetry is hardly ever mentioned at all in Holland. Rather the booklets were printed and distributed to the guests or perhaps only to selected guests.⁴² When there was not enough time, printing was not strictly necessary: Daniel Heinsius sent his elaborate cycle of wedding poetry for Dousa's son Stephen, on which he had spent the entire night as he says, in manuscript. Somewhat later, after the wedding but before its inclusion in Heinsius' volume of poetry, it was printed all the same, courtesy of his rich friend Scriverius.⁴³ Grotius' poem on the 1603 wedding of Reinoud van Brederode was even

must have kept because of the fame of the groom) plus some ten copies of publications for royal or quasi-royal weddings. My findings more or less match the number of 16th century wedding poems found by Gruys (see next note), 28. On some disappeared copies: Meulenbroek B.L. – Eyffinger A.C.G.M. – Rabbie E. (eds.), *Dichtwerken* (note 5) 198–9 and 219–22.

³⁹ From the late 16th century until c. 1770 poems were printed in-4^o or in plano (but I have as yet seen no Latin plano prints). On other formats and the development of those editions, mainly or only in Dutch, see Steur A.G. van der, *Antiquariaat. Catalogus 28: Gelegenheidsgedichten* (Haarlem: 2004), 12 ff. (Introduction by A.G. van der Steur. The data on Latin 16th century poetry were collected by J.A. Gruys).

⁴⁰ The old work by Schotel G.D.J., *Het Oud-Hollandsch Huisgezin der Zeventiende eeuw* (Haarlem: 1868) 270–310 has many details on Dutch weddings, but the author does not quote sources and bases his conclusions on a few aristocratic weddings. On the performance of Latin poetry it offers nothing. Latin *epithalamia* may well have been recited at a certain moment during royal and similar weddings: these celebrations took days, and representation and display were important aims. Korenjak says nothing about it in his edition of the *Epithalamium* on the wedding of the Austrian archduke Ferdinand II and Anna Caterina Gonzaga composed in 1582 by Johannes Leucht. See Leucht J., *Johannes Leucht Epithalamium heroicum*, ed. M. Korenjak (Innsbruck: 2002).

⁴¹ The father of Hugo de Groot composed both a Latin and a Dutch poem for his son's wedding, the second probably on behalf of the bride and the respective mothers. See also below on Grotius' translation of his *Erotopaignion*.

⁴² That serious vernacular wedding poetry was performed or declaimed is also all but certain, see Steur A.G. van der, *Catalogus 28* (note 39) 17–18. On the earliest full-blown *epithalamium* in Dutch (1598), which combines a vernacular form (poetry by the "rhetoricians") with classical bucolic (Vergilian) *topoi*, see Schenkeveld – van der Dussen M.A., "Een bruiloftsdicht van Karel van Mander", *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandse taal- en Letterkunde* 92 (1976) 189–202.

⁴³ Letters of Heinsius to Dousa of June–July 1601, in University Library Leiden Ms. F 353, Microfilm Ms. Burney 371, f. 47, f. 51.

composed and printed some months after the event, as its dedication shows (compare the poem by Elias Putsch above). It is an imitation of Catullus 62, called the *Domumductio* of the bride, and both the setting, with fictional choirs of Dutch boys and girls singing a Latin song, and the typically Roman theme of the arrival of the bride in the house of the groom, show that neither Grotius nor the addressee(s) were interested in the poem as a representation of the wedding itself. That occasion was not of prime importance is suggested, again, by Hugo Grotius: he translated his own Latin *erotopaignia*, published for his own wedding together with the *epithalamium* written by his friend Heinsius, into Dutch so that his wife also could read them; it turns out that he had already been working on the Latin cycle some time before he knew who his bride was to be.⁴⁴

The number of *epithalamia* collected in poetry books far surpasses the separate booklets. This indicates that their status was enhanced because of their inclusion in a “real” book, or, rather, it shows that they had never been mere ephemera. This view is supported by Grotius’ reserving a separate book for his *epithalamia*, and also because most Latin *epithalamia* from Holland are long poems written in hexameters, and are therefore prestigious. The metre also shows that the poets reverted to ancient examples, for the standard renaissance metre was the elegiac distich. In the case of Grotius we are privileged to possess the autograph manuscript of his verse, and thus we see that he excluded some wedding poetry from his *corpus*, but none of his hexametric *epithalamia*. It would be interesting to possess such manuscripts of other poets, Heinsius in the first place. He constantly changed his poems in the eight editions of his poetry to appear in his lifetime. A few probes show that in his collected poetry Heinsius also made some changes in the texts of his *epithalamia*. This again widens the gulf between the published poem and the original occasion, and emphasizes the fact that in a different context, within the structure of a new volume, form and function of a poem change. In these cases we can prove what for antiquity we can only surmise.⁴⁵

⁴⁴ Nellen H.J.M., *Hugo de Groot* (note 5) 89, and especially E. Rabbie in Meulenbroek B.L. – Eyffinger A.C.G.M. – Rabbie E. (eds.), *Dichtwerken* (note 5) 2A/B 4, 428 ff., at 437–8: ‘in no way a realistic reflexion of Grotius’ experiences’.

⁴⁵ However, the changes made by Heinsius in my sample are relatively unimportant; more extensive research is desirable.

In Italy the formal *epithalamium* had been very rare; the wedding speech was the norm. If the northern poets restored the ancient *epithalamium*, this must be in consequence of Scaliger's *Poetics*.⁴⁶ For the longer wedding poems of Grotius and Heinsius and other Dutch poets of the period, the most important classical models are Catullus' *Carmen* 61, Statius' *Silvae* 1.2 and Claudian's *Epithalamium Honorii et Mariae*.⁴⁷ Catullus 61, a poem in lyric metre, is almost a catalogue of wedding themes.⁴⁸ Statius' hexametric *Epithalamium Stellae et Violentillae* (*Silvae* 1.2) combines the poet in his role of master of ceremonies, who observes the wedding as it proceeds, with a mythological narrative: Venus is depicted together with her Amores somewhere in the sky and we are told how she has brought about the wedding, mainly by persuading the bride. Claudian's equally hexametric *Epithalamium Honorii et Mariae* elaborates on the Venus theme: the narrator describes a lovely Venusberg on Cyprus, peopled by Amores, and also by allegorical figures. Here Venus is told that she must persuade Maria to marry Honorius who is already conquered by Amor, and on Triton's tail she rides overseas to Italy and Milan. The *epithalamium* is accompanied by four *Fescennina*, poems in different lyric metres, to be sung in front of the bridal bedroom; the last of them is the most overtly sexual. The most important Christian *epithalamium*, that of Paulinus of Nola, is never imitated in Dutch or other Latin poetry before 1618, for that is the year of its first printing; Christian themes in Neolatin *epithalamia* seem on the whole infrequent.⁴⁹

⁴⁶ See Elia A.F. D', *The Renaissance of Marriage in Fifteenth-Century Italy* (Cambridge (Mass.)-London: 2004), especially 35 ff., 139 ff., and note 11, also p. 87, above.

⁴⁷ On renaissance epithalamia see Tufte V.J., *The poetry of marriage. The epithalamium in Europe and its development in England* (Los Angeles: 1970), ch. 6, and especially A.C.G.M. Eyffinger in Meulenbroek B.L. – Eyffinger A.C.G.M. – Rabbie E. (eds.), *Dichtwerken* (note 5) 414 ff, bibliography on 458–9.

⁴⁸ Catullus' *Carmen* 64, a complicated epyllion taking off from the wedding of Peleus and Thetis, is mainly relevant insofar as it functions as an index of wedding poetry: naming Peleus and Thetis became almost obligatory in epithalamia, without any imitation of Catullus 64 as a whole. Thus Claudian in his preface to the *Epithalamium Honorii*. His emphatic references to Peleus and Thetis in the *Rape of Proserpine* suggest the epithalamial aspects of that poem.

⁴⁹ Examples in Jermann T.C., *Thematic Elements in Thirty Neo-Latin Epithalamia* (Ann Arbor: 1977), see E. Rabbie in Meulenbroek B.L. – Eyffinger A.C.G.M. – Rabbie E. (eds.), *Dichtwerken* (note 5) 200. Perhaps the fact that for Protestants marriage is not one of the sacraments plays some role, but a lack of good classical models seems more important. On two epithalamia by Grotius, see below.

The earliest Dutch Latin *epithalamia*, written long before Scaliger's *Poetics* appeared, do not conform to any classical example: Erasmus' *epithalamium* for his friend Peter Gilles is in a variety of lyric metres, and was embedded in a prose-work when it was published.⁵⁰ Janus Secundus' original *epithalamium* was more influential: it is written in hendecasyllables. It does not refer to any specific occasion, but is rather a kind of Fescenninum with some imitation of Claudian; the tone, however, is wholly Catullan. It was imitated by Dousa, Heinsius and Grotius, sometimes in other genres.⁵¹ The Dutch Latin private *epithalamium* apparently first received its "classic" format, as prescribed by J.C. Scaliger, with references to Venus, Amor and Mars, praise of birth, family, deeds and beauty, and persuasion of the bride by Venus, in the 1590s. First it existed alongside metrically different, more Erasmus-like forms, until Heinsius and Grotius dignified the *epithalamium* into hexametric imitations of Statius, Claudian and sometimes Sidonius Apollinaris, rejuvenating older forms. They represented the "new" poets of the young university who, together with their fellow students such as Jacob van den Eynde (1575–1614), Elias Putsch and Janus Dousa filius (1571–1596), showed that poetry should be learned, long and in the classical, mythological style. Poems written in obvious imitation of Secundus' playful hendecasyllables or in other lyric metres, or in default distichs, proclaimed their authors to be old-fashioned or themselves trivia.⁵²

Grotius, setting the fashion for the hexametric *epithalamium*, is also the most original poet in the genre. In his early poems, written as a boy, he is still finding his way: the alcaic stanzas in the poem for Joris de Bie and Maria van Almonde of January 1595, when Grotius was four-

⁵⁰ The poem was written for the wedding in 1514, and published in the 1524 edition of the *Colloquia*.

⁵¹ Grotius' close imitation, in *Ad nuptias Johannis ten Grootenhuys*, (Meulenbroek B.L. – Eyffinger A.C.G.M. – Rabbie E. (eds.), *Dichtwerken* (note 5) I 2 A/B 4 107–08), is much shorter.

⁵² Such as an *epithalamium* by Corn. Rekenaer in imitation of Catullus 61 on the wedding of Iustus Menenius and Catharina vander Hagen, another one by him and one by Pilius on Jacob van der Eijck and Clara Iacobi, poems in Horatian metres written by Vulcanius in Secundan hendecasyllables and by Vossius on the wedding of Hadr. Marcellus and Agnes Pelgrom, all in 1594, collected in Leiden University Library brochure 1370 E 19; also 15 distichs by Secundus' brother Hadrianus Marius on the 1543 wedding of his friend Viglius of Ayta in *Delitiae* vol. 3.433–4. Dousa filius wrote in 1594 on Martinius Pilius and Anna Olivaria (also in Leiden brochure 1370 E 19). The formal 22-page poem by Hadrianus Iunius (1511–1575) in *Delitiae* 3.7–28 on the wedding of Philip II of Spain and Mary Tudor (1554), is a special case.

teen, are old-fashioned; his 1600 poem on the marriage of W. Martini, counting no fewer than seven hundred lines, is an orgy of unfocused imitation of Latin poetry in general by a young poet determined to show his stupendous erudition.⁵³ Of the other four great *epithalamia*, the 1603 one on the wedding of Caspar van Kinschot is a rather close imitation of Statius *Silvae* 1.2. But his more personal contributions to the genre are on the one hand the combination of Statius and Claudian (and Sidonius) in the poem for Cornelis Vander Myle (1579–1642) of the same year; the role of Claudian is made extra clear because Grotius adds a poem in imitation of Claudian's *versus Fescennini*; it is a paradoxical imitation, for Grotius states, in Fescennine metre, that his poetry is not Fescennine, but pure and stops outside the bridal chamber (4 *nos thalami sistimur ante fores...*, cf. 17 *Fescennina procul discede licentia linguae*).⁵⁴ The last two *epithalamia* are really new: the metrical form and length of the poem for the marriage of his friend Johan Boreel to Agnes Hayman in 1608 are classical, but the handling of the theme is anything but traditional: Grotius describes the groom's travels which brought him to Syria, and then goes on to connect that country and this marriage to that of Adam and Eve in Paradise, and to the wedding at Cana where Jesus was present, which forms the main part of the poem.⁵⁵ A similar innovation is found in Grotius' *epithalamium* for Prince Philip William of Nassau (1606): some classical motifs are employed but handled in a new way, for instance the epiphany of Venus, who appears here in a dream, a motif absent from earlier examples; but the most important change is that this is now a philosophical poem, in which Venus represents heavenly love.⁵⁶ Grotius did not include among his *epithalamia* his "real" *Fescennina*, a cycle of

⁵³ Meulenbroek B.L. – Eyffinger A.C.G.M. – Rabbie E. (eds.), *Dichtwerken* (note 5) I 2A 1, 13–23 and 217–73.

⁵⁴ A.C.G.M. Eyffinger, (note 46) 440–481. In a letter regarding the edition of his collected poems Grotius mentions that he imitated Claudian, but remained more chaste: 'nonnumquam castigatius aliquid ad Statii et Claudiani instar conantem', *Correspondence* n° 441, 15.XII.1615 (p. 457).

⁵⁵ See A.C.G.M. Eyffinger quoted in note 46 and especially Meulenbroek B.L. – Eyffinger A.C.G.M. – Rabbie E. (eds.), *Dichtwerken* (note 5) 217–21. Although Adam and Eve or the wedding of Cana are not entirely new in *epithalamia*, the combination with Boreel's travels on the one hand and the classical manner (including some classical comparisons) on the other hand, is a good example of Grotius putting to use well-known forms for his own purposes.

⁵⁶ E. Rabbie, (previous note) 222–23, also 229–60.

poems on the wedding of his friend Enoch Pottey, considered by some critics as Grotius' best nuptial verse.⁵⁷

Daniel Heinsius, probably a more gifted poet overall, has less variation in the four formal longer hexametric *epithalamia* in book 1 of his *Silvae*: they all concern friends or brides from the province of Zeeland, where Heinsius had lived as a boy, and are more or less interchangeable. Unlike Grotius' compositions, those of Heinsius have hardly any mythological narration, but they abound in mythological exempla and comparisons.⁵⁸ Heinsius' particular way of using ancient poetry in new forms is the creation of the cycle, a form of appropriation by extension, probably initiated by Pontano and the essence of Janus Secundus' *Basia*. In the case of wedding poetry, *Fescennina* such as his friend Grotius had composed, were one example on which Heinsius, more interested in erotic matters, could build. One of his first and best instances is the cycle on the wedding of Stephanus Dousa mentioned above, consisting of thirty-seven poems written in several lyric metres. Heinsius removed it from his collected poetry after 1606, either because of its putative obscenity or perhaps because it was too deviant.⁵⁹

In conclusion, in these poems the wedding itself is almost irrelevant; some longer poetry was sent after the occasion, and so-called *Fescennina* could hardly have been performed outside the bridal chamber, by mixed choirs singing in Latin. Though they will have supposed that Statius and Claudian wrote realistic poetry, mythology apart, Grotius and Heinsius rarely strove for that level of reality. Dutch life was much more remote from this poetic world than Roman life from their models. Their return to the full-blown classical *epithalamium* was, in fact, a double innovation, because Scaliger had projected prose genres onto poetry and secondly because they ousted easier, lighter, Secundus-like verses. Within this category Grotius developed a new blend of Christian, or philosophical and ancient, motifs, whereas Heinsius' innovation lies in the development of the cycle, a strategy he employed elsewhere as well.

Let us conclude this section with a short digression on possible irony, and a remark on appropriation by quotation. Heinsius' second

⁵⁷ O.c. 273 ff.

⁵⁸ But the beginning of the much-admired poem on Grotius' marriage is inspired by Claudian's description of Amores on Cyprus. On his exempla, see below on Milander.

⁵⁹ Seven additional, shorter poems, in other metres such as hendecasyllables, he included elsewhere in his collected poetry (ed. 1649).

epithalamium is for the wedding of Johannes Milander, Lord of Poederoeye, and Maria van Hohenlohe in 1609.⁶⁰ The husband was one of the most trusted councillors and generals of Maurice of Orange, over sixty years of age at the time, the bride was Maurice's illegitimate and much younger niece. According to Heinsius, now that there is a truce soldiers can marry at last. Maria is such a radiant beauty, surpassing Diana and Venus herself, that the old general Milander is magnetized by her charms; but he is ashamed of his old age, his failing feet and eyes. Gradually however, as if by magic, he grows younger; the nymphs see him riding and exercising. He is not only an athletic, he is also an immensely rich old man. The bride should be a Danaë to his Jupiter and receive him; it would be a pity if this golden rain missed her (*nequiquam depluat imber*). Ancient examples of old men and beautiful women abound: Venus and Anchises, Numa and Egeria, Tithonus and Diana. Jupiter will force the Parcae to spin slowly, or even backwards, so that Milander may still engender a son.

It so happens that we know how Heinsius' friend Grotius judged the bride and groom from some sarcastic letters Grotius wrote, mocking the doubtful virginity of Maria and the old age of Milander, whom he designates as 'your Tithonus' (*Tithonus tuus*), which implies that he had read Heinsius' poem.⁶¹ If we assume that Heinsius thought of the whole thing in similar terms, we are now perhaps tempted to read his poem ironically, and look for ambiguities in the mythological allusions, for instance in the shrivelled and chirping Tithonus. However, though the facts behind panegyric is a central problem of occasional verse, which becomes more acute the better we are informed, questions of sincerity are never fruitful.⁶²

Appropriation by quotation could be illustrated from any Neolatin poem, but I take one from Heinsius here, from the *epithalamium*

⁶⁰ Ed. 1649, 7–12.

⁶¹ Grotius *Correspondence* n° 145 and 147. Grotius himself composed a rather frigid congratulation of 14 distichs for the occasion. On another point we have additional knowledge as well: the bride really was extremely beautiful, for Heinsius writes to Casaubon *exquisite formae atque aetatis floridae*, see E. Rabbie in Meulenbroek B.L. – Eyffinger A.C.G.M. – Rabbie E. (eds.), *Dichtwerken* (note 5) 150. On his own poem on the occasion of a doctorate Vulcanius writes to a friend that the young doctor had nothing *eruditionis nomine magnopere laude dignum*, so that he had to be insincere: Vulcanius B., *La Correspondance de Bonaventura Vulcanius*, ed. H. De Vries de Heekelingen (The Hague: 1923) 244.

⁶² Cf. the ongoing discussion on flattery or irony in Statius and Martial, summarized in Newlands C., *Statius' Silvae and the poetics of Empire* (Cambridge: 2002), 18 ff.

for Grotius. Towards the end of the poem the poet cries out *Felices animae*... to Hugo and his bride Maria, repeating the words two lines further.⁶³ Does Heinsius refer to Ovid's *Fasti* 1.297 where we read *Felices animae* in the same position in the line?—perhaps in jest, for stars form the context in both passages, the pleasures of astronomy in Ovid and in Heinsius the pleasures following upon the appearance of the evening star (*faustam promittunt sidera noctem*)? Should we then not connect with this phrase Vergil's praise of natural philosophy: 'Happy he, who could understand the causes of things' (*Felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas*, *Georgica* 2.490)? Or is it an allusion to Vergil's prophecy of everlasting fame for Euryalus and Nisus *Fortunati ambo* (O blessed pair, Verg. *Aen.* 9.446), repeated in Ausonius' *Cento nuptialis* (!) 77? Thus, we could try to show how Grotius is fashioned as a philosopher by Heinsius, or argue that the poem wishes that Grotius, Maria and Heinsius may live forever, like Euryalus, Nisus and Vergil, as exemplified perhaps in Ausonius' echo of Vergil. And should we try to fit all other quotations into an overall structure of a poem?—for instance when Hadrianus Iunius opens his *epithalamium* with *describant alii* (cf. *Aeneid* 6.847, 849: *excudent alii...describent*, Hor. *Carm.* 1.7.1 *laudabunt alii* etc. etc.), goes on with Ovid's *In nova fert animus*..., and then throws in some Lucretius?⁶⁴ The problem, even for those who fundamentally reject intentionality, is in choosing the right mean between assuming intertextual appropriation as a strategy and discarding quotations as accidental tags and tags from the commonplace book.⁶⁵

Epicedium and Function: Heinsius' Strategy on the Death of Lipsius

Poems which mourn a death seem much more frequent than *epithalamia*. They bear many different names: *epicedium*, *epitaphium*,

⁶³ Edition 1649 p. 6.

⁶⁴ One of the most famous intertextualities of Latin poetry consists in the ramifications of Catullus' *invita o regina tuo de vertice cessi* (66.39) in Vergil *Aeneid* 6.460, Statius *Achilleid* 1.653 and elsewhere. Should we then include in this web Nicolaas Heinsius who, in his farewell poem to the Bay of Naples (!), sighs *invitus...tuo de litore cessi*?

⁶⁵ I leave aside as unfruitful the mechanical pursuit of classical parallels, as when Heinsius ends a line on *versatur imago*, and we note that there are only two classical instances of these words ending a line, Statius *Thebaid* 12.187 and Silius Italicus *Punica* 14.616.

lac(h)rymae, manes, obitus, funus / funera, tumulus / tumuli.⁶⁶ *Epicedium, epitaphium* are mentioned by J.C. Scaliger, who also names *funebis oratio, threnus* and *monodia*, and mixes poetry and prose, ancient views and his own, into a rather muddled discussion of funerary verse.⁶⁷ The ancient designation *consolatio* is lacking, which is probably significant of a shift in interest, from care for the survivors to praise of the deceased.

Like wedding poetry, funerary verse was printed separately, but in larger volumes; which is why more of these booklets or books are preserved. At the death of professors and other notabilities this poetry was sometimes published in one volume with the funeral oration, as in the case of Heinsius' orations on Scaliger (1609) or Vossius' oration on Thomas Erpenius, professor of Arabic (1624). Whether verse was declaimed at funerals, or after funeral orations I do not know: the long *epicedia*, in spite of their title which suggests as much, seem as unfit for performance during a ceremony as the *epithalamia*, but for academic funerals this may well have been different.⁶⁸ Shorter poems were declaimed at memorial services held on the anniversary of a death: Scaliger refers to the custom, and we know that less than a year after the death of Bartolomeo da Platina (†1481) poetry was recited during a ceremony.⁶⁹ Separate volumes of funerary verses were published under titles such as *Manes, Tumulus/Tumuli* or *Lacrimae*. They might be the work of one single author, such as Janus Lernutius' 6 poems on the death of Justus Lipsius in 1606;⁷⁰ or one or two editors, sometimes relatives of the dead man, might collect poetry among their own immediate acquaintance or from farther afield, depending on the dead man's importance. More than one volume of poetry might result, not only in the case of the famous scholar Lipsius, as we shall see: when

⁶⁶ In the *Delitiae* many of them are, again, indexed under the name of the deceased person or the survivors.

⁶⁷ P. 168. Servius is quoted on *epicedium* and *epitaphium*, but the Greek rhetors are not.

⁶⁸ It is claimed that the title of Hessus' elegy on Dürer, *In funere...Dureri*, shows that the poem was recited at the funeral (Kühlmann W. – Bodamer C., *Humanistische Lyrik des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Frankfurt a. M: 1997) 1114). However that might be, the poem acquires its significance from its combination with eleven other elegies into an Ausonius-like whole.

⁶⁹ According to Jacopo di Gherardi (Il Diario p. 98). I owe this information to Dr. Susanna de Beer.

⁷⁰ Lernutius J., *Iani Lernuti Epicedia sive Funus Lipsianum, immortalitati sacr.* (Antwerp: 1607).

the wife of an Uppsala professor died in 1628 her husband received no less than five volumes of verse.⁷¹

The custom of putting together a volume of poetry in memory of a deceased person is not ancient, as far as we know. Some ancient poets, such as Statius, wrote several consolations or *epicedia*, others, such as Ausonius, composed a whole volume of funerary poems for groups of people, the *Parentalia*, and the *Professores Burdigalenses*. But I know no poet who composed several longer poems for one and the same dead person, nor a volume of poetry composed by different poets for one and the same dead person; the nearest thing may be Book Seven of the Greek Anthology with its funerary epigrams.⁷² In Neolatin poetry, on the other hand, these volumes abound, starting with the early humanists: to the earliest belong the memorial volume for Albiera degli Albizzi, opened by fourteen-year-old Poliziano and the poems on the death of Battista Sforza, wife of Federico da Montefeltro in 1472.⁷³ North of the Alps the vogue seems to begin in the 1530s. A major factor in the propagation of such books in the Netherlands is probably the earliest example outside Italy known to me, the volume composed at the occasion of Erasmus' death in 1536, *Tumulorum Erasmi libellus*, followed by two slimmer volumes in the following year.⁷⁴ Eight years later the Spanish pedagogue Juan Vives, who lived in the Southern Netherlands, received a similar tribute.⁷⁵ Dutch libraries hold around twenty-five such memorial books of the 16th century, most of them from Germany; the earliest, after those associated with Erasmus, is for the German poet Eobanus Hessus in 1540. Composing occasional poetry is a frequent topic in correspondences, most often the writing of funerary poetry. It was important for an editor, especially if he was related, to gather

⁷¹ Ström A., *Lachrymae Catharinae* (Diss. Stockholm: 1994). On handbooks, ancient and humanist, which teach the theory and practice of funerary poetry, see also Ström A. – Gejrot C., *Poems for the Occasion* (Stockholm: 1999) 79 ff.

⁷² Martial sometimes has more epigrams on one death, and in this resembles the Greek Anthology. Ausonius together with the Greek Anthology underlies the two books of *Tumuli* (113 poems) by Pontano.

⁷³ Both exist only in (luxury) manuscripts. On Albiera, see F. Patetta in *Atti della Società Reale di Torino* 53 (1917–18) 290–4, 310–28, and Dam H.-J. van, "Wandering woods (note 11) 47, on Battista Sforza, in Ms. Urb. Lat. 1193, see Beer S. de, *Poetry and Patronage* (note 3) 280, also 275 note 10, 277 note 14.

⁷⁴ See De Vocht H., *History of the Collegium Trilingue* (Louvain: 1951–55) III 390–453.

⁷⁵ Tournoy G., *Latijnse verzen bij het overlijden van Juan Luis Vives* (preprint KULAK: febr. 1994).

poems from persons of consequence, and publication of a *tumulus* conferred the highest status.⁷⁶

As we have seen, Daniel Heinsius carved a niche for himself by specializing in poetic cycles, and this is particularly apparent in his cycles of funerary verse. Throughout editions of his work he gave pride of place to his *Manes Scaligeri* and *Manes Lipsiani*. Together with the *Manes Dousiaci* for Janus Dousa, they formed three elaborate structures, solemn and varied. Not only are such longer series of poems represented by these *Manes* an innovation,⁷⁷ Heinsius also made strategic use of them for his own authorial purposes and career, as the case of the *Manes Lipsiani* shows.

This concerns the Leiden *tumulus* for Justus Lipsius, who died in the night of 23/24 April 1606. From 1578 until 1591 he had been professor of history and law at the Reformed University of Leiden in the Northern Netherlands, but in 1591 Lipsius left Leiden and eventually returned to Louvain where he had studied and worked earlier. There he lived and died a devout Catholic, publishing two religious treatises on the Blessed Virgin, and earning thereby nothing but scorn in Leiden.⁷⁸ Not long after his death Lipsius' Louvain circle produced a large and beautiful in-4^o volume in his memory, published at Antwerp in February 1607, and containing some hundred pages of verse, apart from several works in prose.⁷⁹ In Leiden the publisher Maire brought out, in March 1607, a volume called *Epicedia in obitum Clarissimi et summi viri Iusti Lipsii* with seventeen poems by the celebrated names of Latin poetry and scholarship: first Joseph Scaliger, then Bonaventura Vulcanius, the only contributor to have been a colleague of the dead man, Dominicus Baudius, gifted composer of iambic poetry, Daniel

⁷⁶ That in 1617 no-one gathered the poems on the death of Jacques-Auguste De Thou into a book, as he had done himself for his brother and father, is an indication of the descent in fortune of the family: De Smet I., *Thuanus. The Making of Jacques-Auguste De Thou (1553–1617)* (Geneva: 2006) 279–80.

⁷⁷ Series of funerary poetry are also found in collected poetry, apparently not published separately. Dousa's poetry for the deaths of Hadrianus Iunius, *Manes Iuniani*, and of Louis Boisot, in his collected poems (*Nova Poemata* 1576²) show an earlier stage than the later *tumuli*: the poems, by several authors, have no titles and are separated only by spacing; they are mainly elegies (epigrams) of 10–30 lines.

⁷⁸ *Diva virgo Hallensis, beneficia eius et miracula*, 1604 and *Diva Sichemiensis sive Aspricollis nova eius beneficia et admiranda*, 1605.

⁷⁹ *Iusti Lipsi Sapientiae et litterarum antistitis Fama postuma*, Cf. *Bibliotheca Belgica* III 1111 ff., also Jan Papy in *LIAS* 22 (1995) 157–62. Lernutius' memorial volume was mentioned above (p. 93). Max. De Vignacourt composed a *Iusta Iusti Lipsi Threnodia*, Louvain 1606. A second enlarged edition of the *Fama postuma* appeared in 1613.

Heinsius, just appointed professor of Greek, and finally Hugo Grotius and Petrus Scriverius, two scholars and poets neither of whom taught in the university. Joseph Scaliger had been the first in Leiden to hear of Lipsius' death, and says that he had praised him and was criticized for it before June 1606.⁸⁰ Lipsius' friend and heir Woverius soon contacted him and other Leiden scholars asking them to contribute to the Antwerp volume; some of them seem to have promised a poem. In the end, however, they published a volume of their own which was directed and prefaced by Heinsius, then twenty-six years of age, and by common consent Leiden's best poet.⁸¹ Heinsius is certainly the most prolific contributor to his own volume, for he included nine poems of his own, against one poem by Scaliger, Vulcanius and Baudius, two by Grotius and three by Scriverius. In his nine poems Heinsius displayed a superior command of metre, beginning with a formal *epicedium*, in hexameters, and passing from elegiacs via catalectic iambic tetrameters to something he calls *epimikton*, a kind of free verse, in his famous *lusus ad apiculas*, which consists of choriambic and iambic elements. As I said, he included the poems in his collected poetry under the title *Manes Lipsiani*.⁸²

The Leiden volume of *epicedia* had several aims: its first purpose was to outdo the tribute of the Catholic Louvain circle of Lipsius' last years, bring together the best scholars and poets of the Northern Netherlands, and only them, and show that they not only wrote better poetry, but were also morally superior by this tribute to one who remained a great scholar and luminary of the university, in spite of his "religious errors".

Heinsius' preface however, qualified as 'divine' by Scaliger, points to another purpose as well: in it Heinsius rages against "those who attack the memory of great men such as Julius Caesar Scaliger, whose son is reduced to beggary. Apparently nowadays one must be either a Jesuit or

⁸⁰ Scaliger *Epistulae* (ed. Daniel Heinsius, Leiden: 1627) n° 120 (p. 313) to Casaubon of 12.IV.1606: 'Primus ego in Batavia nuncium illum accepi' and n° 122 (p. 317) of 27.V.1606: 'Lipsius a me laudatum fuisse, aliquos aegre laturos...constabat'.

⁸¹ The volume is anonymous, but Heinsius' role is shown by Grotius *Correspondence* n° 95, I p. 81 [Jan. 1607]: 'editionem a te parari' and Scaliger *Epistulae* 130 (p. 330) to Casaubon of 11.III.1607 'Heinsii, qui et maxima pars est poetarum qui contulerunt operas et cuius divina est illa praefatiuncula'.

⁸² On Heinsius' *Manes Lipsiani*, see now Lefèvre E., "Daniel Heinsius' *Manes Lipsiani* nebst einer Erklärung von Joseph Scaligers *Epicedium* auf Lipsius", in E. Lefèvre – E. Schäfer E (eds.), *Daniel Heinsius* (note 5) 203–48 with text, German translation and commentary.

a philistine. Scaliger was the first to offer his admiration, and he invited us to imitate him. Noble minds do not know jealousy”.⁸³ Scaliger himself praised the Leiden volume with the words: “the whole Jesuit order could not write such a book”.⁸⁴ This mentioning of the Jesuits, for which there is no immediate cause, makes us realize that the book is not so much concerned with the death of Lipsius as with the life of Scaliger. As is well-known, Scaliger and his father prided themselves on their nobility, as descendants of the Veronese family of the Della Scala à Burden. In 1605 the rector of the Antwerp Jesuits, Scribanus, had already written that Scaliger’s real name was Burdo, which means mule. The dirty work, however, was done by Kaspar Schoppe, a Catholic “journalist”, who in 1606 wrote a slanderous book of 900 pages in order to prove that the Scaligeri were not at all noble—in which he was undoubtedly right. Scribanus was a Jesuit, Schoppe was not, but Scaliger claimed that he merely acted the part written for him by the Jesuits.⁸⁵ Heinsius’ references to the Scaligeri, to *genus*, and to Jesuits make clear that this book is an *Homage to Joseph Scaliger* even more than an *Homage to Justus Lipsius*. That also explains the choice of contributors: not the ex-colleagues of Lipsius, many of whom were still professors in Leiden, but only the Scaliger circle. They honour Lipsius, for ‘noble minds do not know what envy is’ (*nobilis ingenia... invidere nesciunt*), or perhaps rather ‘Noblemen do not know what envy is, *noblesse oblige*, (as the noble Scaliger demonstrates)’.⁸⁶ However, Heinsius’ strategy does not stop at honouring Scaliger and repaying a debt to his protector, who had been instrumental in securing his chair of Greek; his main purpose in appropriating the form and theme of the *epicedion* is to present himself as a virtuoso poet, who dwarfs all others by the quantity and quality of his verse, and as the spokesman for the scholarly Leiden community rallying to the side of the great Scaliger. Perhaps Heinsius goes even further: the sixth poem is addressed to Isaac Casaubon, making the point that with Lipsius’ death only two of the *triumviri litterarum*, Casaubon

⁸³ ‘aliorum generi detrahitur...Ita nemini impune esse potest, aut Loiolitam non fuisse aut fuisse eruditum....Nobis pax est cum mortuis. Lipsium ut olim amavimus, ita nunc admiramur...Nobilis ingenia, ut invidiam facile contemnunt, ita invidere nesciunt’.

⁸⁴ ‘Tota societas Loiolitarum talem praestare non potuit’ (*Epistulae* 130).

⁸⁵ *Ep.* 121 (p. 315) 19.V.1606 to Casaubon: ‘Loiolitae sunt huius dramatis poetae, ille histrio’.

⁸⁶ Detailed interpretation of Heinsius’ poetry confirms this view. For the central role of Scaliger, see also Lefèvre E., “Manes Lipsiani” (note 82) 216 ff.

and Scaliger, are left. Might Heinsius perhaps have hoped that, not at once but later, he, as a pupil of the great Scaliger, as a gifted poet and philologist, would be considered as the new *triumvir*?

This combination of a memorial volume with a defence of Scaliger, a career move, and self-fashioning by Heinsius, may be an extreme case, but Neolatin funerary poetry is a medium easily adaptable to personal strategies of representation and self-advertisement. The genre as a whole, in which consolation is mostly lacking, appropriates ancient forms in which the survivors were more important. This is most obvious in the *tumuli*, which by their nature are more distant from the occasion and emphasize group ties.⁸⁷

Paratexts and Publicity: Grotius, Heinsius, Vulcanius

The least studied occasional poetry is one of the most interesting kinds, the *liminale*, or poem at the beginning of a book. The publication of a book is a meaningful social occasion for the author, and his friends might be expected to celebrate it in numbers. This kind of poem is typical of the academic circle, and is at home in philological works, but also in other books such as drama and volumes of poetry.⁸⁸ The terminology of these poems is uncertain: some speak of *liminalia*, others of *liminaria*; *carmina adoptiva* refers partly to the same thing, but the term “dedicatory poem” is misleading.

This poetry for books is a humanist innovation, based on the invention of printing and on the growth of national and international scholarly peer-groups. The humanists took the ancient custom of dedicating a book to a patron and used it for their own purposes, such as creating and extending a network, self-fashioning, and, as far as publishers were concerned, raising sales figures. Many ancient books, poetry and prose

⁸⁷ In addressing his elegies on the death of his parents to Lipsius and Scaliger respectively Paulus Melissus positions himself within the European Republic of Letters. See Kühlmann W. – Bodamer C., *Humanistische Lyrik* (note 68) 814 ff. and notes. Similarly Hessus addresses his elegy on Dürer to Camerarius (o.c. 274–84) and Ioh. Posthius his elegy on Lotichius to Rudinger (*ibid.* 740–2).

⁸⁸ Segebrecht W., *Das Gelegenheitsgedicht* (Stuttgart: 1977) excludes the genre from his book for the very reason that only the highest levels of society could contribute here. I know no specific literature on the subject. In Demmy Verbeke’s useful edition and study of Latin dedicatory material for editions of motets (see bibliography), the 70 poems are somewhat underprivileged. My own research is still in its early stages, and this section is not more than a first exploration. In the *Europa Humanistica* project the preliminary matter of humanist books will be published, including verse.

alike, had a prose-preface; books of poetry might open with a poem dedicating it to a patron. In late antiquity, with Ausonius and Sidonius, the double dedication, in poetry and in prose, became frequent.⁸⁹ With the disappearance of the system of patronage and the possibility of endless reproduction in the Renaissance, Neolatin authors chose new and varied strategies. In my material, which consists mainly of the poetry by and for Heinsius, Grotius and Vulcanius, there are several different forms of introductory poems, each with its own paratextual status,⁹⁰ and its own adaptation of ancient modes: writers may open their books with a poem upon it.⁹¹ In that case they build upon classical opening poems of a book, or closing poems which function as a *sphragis*, such as the first poem of Ovid's *Tristia*, or the final poem of Horace's *Odes* III. Sometimes the author dedicates his volume to someone by such a poem: Vulcanius, grateful for his appointment in Leiden, dedicated his edition of Callimachus to the curator Janus Dousa in this way, Heinsius opened his first publication, the edition of Silius (1600), with a poem in Greek to Scaliger. Here the classical models are Catullus 1, Horace *Odes* I 1, and many later examples. In these cases however the modern poems are part of the paratext, not of the text itself. In sending a copy of his book to a foreign scholar of importance or offering it to a personal friend the author often added a poem accompanying his gift by which he dedicated that copy to the addressee, for example Hugo Grotius when he offered his tragedy *Adamus exul* to Heinsius.⁹² Verses, especially epigrams, accompanying a gift, of a book or otherwise, are frequent in antiquity. Most often one or more poets compose a poem for the book of a friend, in which it is published; this is what we call

⁸⁹ See Dam H.-J. van, in Bossuyt I. (Ed.), "Cui dono lepidum novum libellum?": *dedicating Latin works and motets in the sixteenth century: proceedings of the International conference held at the Academia Belgica, Rome, 18–20 August 2005* (Leuven: 2008), 13–33, and Nauta R., *Poetry for Patrons* (note 4) 98–99, 103, 113, 120–31, 280–90, 374–8. Ausonius' *Bissula* has a dedication in prose and one in verse to his friend Paulus, followed by one to the general reader, similarly his *Cento* (*The works of Ausonius*, ed. R. Green (Oxford: 1991) 132–4), cf. Sidon. *carm.* 15, 22. The agricultural authors Columella and Palladius were the first to use this double dedication. In Verbeke 2005 there are 132 preliminary Latin letters, mainly of dedication, and 70 Latin poems (sometimes more than one poem per book).

⁹⁰ Surprisingly I found no discussion of the *adoptivum* in Genette G., *Seuils* (Paris: 1987), which discusses virtually all other preliminary matter.

⁹¹ Thus Vulcanius' edition of Arrian (1575), and that of Hadrianus Junius' *Batavia* (1586). Heinsius opens his edition of Hesiod (1602) with a series of five epigrams.

⁹² Bloemendal J., *Daniel Heinsius, Auriacus, sive Libertas saucia*, Ed. with Dutch transl., intr., comm., 2 vols. (Voorthuizen: 1997) 2. 276, cf. e.g. Grotius *Correspondence* I p. 22 note 3 for Grotius' manuscript dedicatory poem to Nic. Lefèvre.

carmina adoptiva. This practice is conditional upon the possibilities of quick and wide distribution, and aims at networking; therefore this seems to be the most recent and most developed strategy. Finally, if the author is a poet, he may include among his *epigrammata*, *silvae* or *farrago* those poems he wrote for the books of others and among the *adoptiva* any corresponding tributes offered to him.

The aims and functions of these poems vary: a dedicatory poem opening a printed volume is a public gesture, visible in each copy of the book, by which an author honours the dedicatee and at the same time signals the important connections of the same dedicatee—or vice versa. A dedicatory poem accompanying one copy of a book also honours the addressee, but in a less public way, more as a demonstration of devotion.⁹³ A poem by the author on his own book shares with *adoptiva* the function of advertising, but *adoptiva* emphasize the position of the author as part of a group. Moreover, any liminal poetry in humanist books must be seen in conjunction with the prose dedication, almost invariably present, of that same book to an important person or political body. Did the choice of a dedicatee precede that of the writers of *adoptiva*? If so, did it influence their willingness and on which grounds?

In the *poemata collecta* of Heinsius and Grotius we find many poems on the books of others. Were they written for and included in these books, or could they, like wedding poetry, also at times be late? We know that Grotius composed three poems on Heinsius' tragedy *Auriacus*, one of which is printed with it; one other is only in Grotius' poetry manuscript, not in his collected works.⁹⁴ What governs such selection? The final strategical move in networking is, of course, publication of a *liber adoptivorum*, as Heinsius makes clear by its subtitle *in quo magnorum aliquot virorum ad autorem poemata*, or, as his son Nicolaas puts it, *quasi compendium eruditi tui saeculi*.⁹⁵ It opens, of course, with verse by Scaliger and Dousa. It might be interesting to check whether, in including *adoptiva* in the collected works of a poet, certain poems were left out and why.

⁹³ Gérard Genette distinguished the two forms, indistinguishable in antiquity, into *dédier*, dedicating a book, and *dédicacer*, dedicating or inscribing a copy.

⁹⁴ Bloemendal J., *Auriacus* (note 92) 302, A.C.G.M. Eyffinger, *Dichtwerken* (note 47) 348. It is among the *Adoptiva* in Heinsius' *Poemata*.

⁹⁵ Cf. also Dousa's second book of *Silvae*, with the *adoptiva* by his friends from France, Flanders, Brabant, England and Holland.

The importance of this *adoptiva*-poetry is apparent from many demands for and promises of such poems in letters, also from their relative preponderance in number: in Heinsius' poetry it is the largest category with some forty poems for books in the 1649 edition. In the *Delitiae...poetarum Belgicorum* around 30% of Vulcanius' poetry is on books by others; here the numbers are small since Vulcanius did not publish his collected poetry, but in his manuscript poetry equally the share of these poems is at least 30%. Poems introducing a book are mostly short, but certainly not always so: Baudius composed three pages of iambs for Vulcanius' edition of Callimachus, Janus Dousa filius ninety-four couplets for Vulcanius' *De Mundo*. The choice of metre is free, we find all kind of lyric metres, many iambic poems (also because Baudius, a prolific contributor, specialized in iambs), somewhat less distichs, and few hexameters, a distribution which reflects the relative insignificance of this genre,—relative because it had its differences in level. Thus Grotius complained that Meursius had not been satisfied with his "epigramma" for Meursius' *Meditationes christianae*, but had wished for a real encomium.⁹⁶

There seems hardly any connection between the subject of the book and the metre or content of the introductory poetry, except, of course, insofar as the message of all poems is that at last we can read this wonderful book or author. In other words, the theme is praise of the writer-editor, and nothing but praise, with perhaps a few apt words thrown in on the theme of the book. At times, though, we meet with a witty epigram or a pointed allusion to the work of the ancient author published here.

What we would like to have is some more information from the history of publishing: did publishers ask for this paratextual material? Did they have a say in the number and length of the poems, and the place where to print it—sometimes poems are printed at the end rather than at the beginning. In many philological publications and volumes of poetry all kinds of paratextual material is clustered in the openings and endings, not only *adoptiva* and dedications, but also extra poems or other texts from the author or others, material clearly used as padding, possibly to eliminate blank pages. Closer investigation of such

⁹⁶ *Correspondence* n° 50, 05.II.1604, to Heinsius, another venomous letter. Note the word *rogatus*, the standard expression for the request to compose an occasional poem.

problems is required, but we also need to know more in general about the background and workings of this poetry as a social phenomenon.

The liminal poetry of the Leiden circle transposes the classical conditions of patronage, literary circles and manuscript publication into a world of peer groups, scholars and the printing press, at the same time employing some ancient models for dedicatory and introductory poetry in adapted form. Occasion does play a part insofar as it is always there: the reader sees book and poem together, but it is evident that publicity and networking are the main factors, sometimes by groups positioning themselves.

Conclusion

It is hardly possible to draw general conclusions from this divergent, and limited, material. Preliminary steps included the invention of printing and the appropriation of Greek rhetorical forms by Latin poetry. The ancient context of literary patronage was replaced by the scholarly peer group. Occasion yielded to emulation. Individual strategies infused new, Christian or philosophical content, or modified the form by multiplying poems. Major aims were strengthening group ties, but also self-fashioning, presentation and publicity by the poets themselves.

APPENDIX I

LATIN OCCASIONAL POETRY FROM ANTIQUITY⁹⁷

Marriage (Epithalamium), Catullus 61, 62, 64 (Peleus and Thetis), Statius *Silvae* 1.2 (Stella and Violentilla), Claudianus *Epithalamium Honorii & Mariae*, including *Versus fescennini in nuptias Honorii et Mariae*, 1–4, *Palladii et Celerinae*, [Claudianus] *Laurentii et Floridae*, (Ausonius *Cento Nuptialis*), Paulinus of Nola *Epithalamium Iuliani et Titiae*, Dracontius *Iohannis et Vitulae*, *Victoriani*, *Rufiniani et duarum sororum*, Sidonius Apollinaris *Ruricii et Hiberiae*, *Polemii et Araneolae*, Ennodius, *Epithalamium Maximi*, Venantius Fortunatus *Sicheberti et Brunichildis*.

Death (Epicedium, consolatio etc.): Catullus *carmina* 3 (*passer*), 96, 101, Horatius *Carmina* 1.24, Propertius 3.7 (Paetus), 3.18 (Marcellus), 4.11 (Cornelia), Ovidius *Amores* 2.6 (parrot) 3.9 (Tibullus), *Pontica* 1.9 (Cotta), (4.11, Gallio), Anon. *Consolatio ad Liviam*, Anon. *Elegiae in Maecenatem*, Statius *Silvae* 2.1, 2.4 (parrot), (2.5: lion), 2.6. 3.3, 5.1, 5.3, 5.5, Martialis 6.28–29 and many others, Ausonius *Epicedium in patrem* (and many epitaphs, poems in the *Parentalia* etc.).

Dedication⁹⁸ Catullus, Propertius I–II, Tibullus, Horatius *Iambi*, *Sermones*, *Epistulae*, *Carmina*, Anonymus *Ciris*, *Culex*, *Panegyricus Messallae*, *Laus Pisonis*, *Elegiae in Maecenatem*, Statius *Silvae* 1, 2, 3, 4, 5.1, Martialis 1, 2, 8, 9, 12 (letters), 3, 5, 6, 10, 11 (poems), and several other poems, Optatianus *De figuris* (Constantine), Ausonius *various poems and letters*, Claudianus *De raptu Proserpinae II* (Cons. Mallii Theodori, 3rd cons. Honorii), Sidonius Apollinaris *many poems and letters*, Luxorius.

⁹⁷ I have excluded Greek texts here, though some were certainly relevant (epigrams!), and all prose texts. Of course the possibilities of appropriation varied with age: the early humanists disposed of fewer texts than the later ones.

⁹⁸ This is not more than an enumeration of the location of poems with introductory motifs, excluding epic and didactic poetry and prose.

Birthday (Genethliacon), Tibullus 1.7, 2.2, [Tibullus] 3.11, 3.12 (= 4.5, 4.6), Sulpicia 5, 6, Propertius 3.10, (Horatius *Carmina* 4.11), Ovidius *Tristia* 3.13, 5.5, Statius *Silvae* 2.3, 2.7, Martialis 4.1, 4.45, 7.21–23, 9.52, 9.53, 10.24, 10.87, 12.60 (8,64, 10.27, 11.65, 7.86), Apuleius *Critias* (in: *Apologia* 9.13), Ausonius *Genethliacon ad Ausonium nepotem*, (Iulianus *Anthologia Latina* II 638 (Riese)), Paulinus of Nola 14 *natalicia Sancti Felicis*, (Sidonius Apollinaris, *Ad Ommatium, carmen* 17), Merobaudes *carmen* 4, (Venantius Fortunatus *carmen* 11.3, 11.5, 10.7 (S. Martinus)).

Farewell (Propempticon): Horatius *Iambi* 1, (10), *Carmina* 1.3, (1.11, 3.27), *Epistulae* 1.20 (book), Propertius 1.6, 1.8, 3.12, Tibullus 1.3 Ovidius *Amores* 2.11, *Tristia* 1.1 (book), *Pontica* 4.5 (book) Statius *Silvae* 3.2, Paulinus Nolanus *carmen* 17, Sidonius Apollinaris *carmen* 24.

Recovery from illness (Soteria): Catullus 44, Horatius *Carmina* 2.17, (3.8), Propertius 2.28, Statius *Silvae* 1.4.

APPENDIX II

SOME FACTS AND FIGURES ON NEOLATIN OCCASIONAL POETRY

How many Latin occasional poems by humanists do we possess? This is almost anybody's guess. However, in recent times some figures have at least been mentioned, and large amounts of poetry have been put on the Internet.

Libraries tend to restrict their counts to separate editions. It has been estimated that Swedish Libraries possess at least 12,000 separate editions of 17th century occasional poetry printed in Sweden. In the 1640s 81% of those were in Latin, in the 1670s 33%.⁹⁹ It seems to me that the situation in 17th century Holland is not unlike that in 17th century Sweden, except that everything is a bit earlier in Holland (contrary to the *dictum* erroneously ascribed to Heine), both the flowering of Latin poetry in the academic milieu and its trickle into non-academic circles and ultimate displacement by the vernacular. Latin poetry by the Italians and by the French came earlier to the Netherlands than to Scandinavia.¹⁰⁰ The holdings of the Dutch Royal Library in The Hague in this field seem rather meagre: the total amounts to just 648 poems (only two of them predating 1600), 21% of which (107) are in Latin.¹⁰¹ Strangely enough, a few libraries in the Dutch province of Overijssel yield more, probably because this research was not restricted to

⁹⁹ See Ström A., *Lachrymae* (note 71) and Ström A. – Gejrot C., *Poems* (note 71). As to the German situation, Segebrecht W., *Das Gelegenheitsgedicht* (Stuttgart: 1977) counted only separate editions in German, which resulted in a total of more than 150,000 *Einzeldrucke* until 1820, with a peak around 1700. However, for the Latin occasional poem this is unhelpful.

¹⁰⁰ For both Italian and French "influence" Joseph Scaliger may well have been crucial. I am unconvinced by A.G. van der Steur's view (Steur A.G. van der, *Catalogus* 28 (note 39)) that all occasional poetry was imported to Leiden University from the German universities.

¹⁰¹ This paucity is largely accounted for by the limitations of the approach, which included only separate editions of poems addressed to Dutchmen (or rather, persons living within the borders of what is now the Netherlands), who were private citizens: see Bouman J., *Nederlandse gelegenheidsgedichten voor 1700 in de Koninklijke Bibliotheek te 's-Gravenhage* (The Hague: 1982).

separate publications: 167 Latin occasional poems on a total of 783 (13%). The most useful data from the Netherlands are found in a bookseller's catalogue: separate editions of Latin occasional poetry between 1541 and 1600 amount to 125 copies, none of them earlier than 1582.¹⁰² The results from these sources, arbitrary as they are, suggest that in separate publications wedding poetry is dominant (more than half of the material from the Royal Library, more than twice as much as the next kind, funerary poetry), but that in collected poetry funerary poems may well have the upper hand, although less clearly so than the wedding poetry in the separate publications.¹⁰³

Much Neolatin poetry has been published in the last fifty or so years. Much more has been put online recently. However, practical problems of finding representative material remain. In the first place, the compilers of anthologies are not fond of occasional poetry, and hardly ever include poetry such as *carmina adoptiva*. Therefore we must turn to original editions, taking into account that some poets revise their volumes. It is difficult to chase genres in older collections, in particular in the large volumes of *Delitiae poetarum Belgicorum* and *Germanorum*: not only do similar poems bear different titles, such as *obitus*, *lachrymae*, *tumuli*, *manes*, *epicedium*, *epitaphium*, many other relevant poems are indexed under the (first) name of the addressee, or hide under a title such as *Ad Ianum Ianssonii*, or have no title at all.¹⁰⁴ Moreover, the German and Dutch *Delitiae* of 1612 and 1614 are rather early: some important poets cannot but be absent, such as Jakob Balde or Hugo Grotius, who published his collected poetry only in 1617. The explosion of texts on the Internet is a blessing mainly because it makes work at home possible.

¹⁰² Steur A.G. van der, *Catalogus* 28 (note 39). Virtually all these poems are connected to Leiden University. By far the greatest percentage concerns poetry on the occasion of an academic promotion.

¹⁰³ The picture is corroborated by the collection of the provincial library of the Dutch province Zeeland; but here the numbers are very small (only 7 Latin occasional poems from the 17th-century): Daamen M. – Meijer A., *Catalogus van gedrukte Nederlandse gelegenheidsgedichten uit de zeventiende en achttiende eeuw in de Zeeuwse Bibliotheek te Middelburg* (Middelburg: 1990).

¹⁰⁴ Tufte V.J., *The poetry of marriage* (note 47) claims that there are over 200 epithalamia in the *Delitiae poetarum Germanorum*.

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CHAPTER SIX

VERGIL, THE PSALMS, AND NEW POETIC GENRES IN MEDIEVAL LATIN LITERATURE

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In Medieval European culture, the main part of the Latin texts preserved in the manuscripts represent something fundamentally new, a literate civilization arising from the encounter of classical Greek and Latin culture and the Judaeo-Christian tradition. This encounter resulted in a new intellectual world, a dramatically changed literature. From late Antiquity and Carolingian times and on, brilliant minds devoted themselves to elaborate textual interpretations of the meaning of the words of Holy Scripture of Hebrew and Greek origin. More than ever reading a text meant to comment on it, deciphering the hidden meaning behind each word. The efforts made to interpret the biblical texts, and the ideas behind them, created a literature of hermeneutics that even today continues to inform Western civilization in ways not always recognized. Thus, theological hermeneutics came to colour the major part of the texts produced in an impressive tradition from the Church Fathers, transforming the intellectual heritage from classical philosophy into a Christian theology. Nowhere are these new approaches more important than in genres formative of the medieval mind, such as liturgical texts, readings, prayers and songs, collections of sermons, commentaries, schoolbooks and compilations of various kinds.

Clearly, the authors in this new, integrated culture were deeply influenced by the tension between the two literary canons: classical pagan literature and Christian sacred scripture. On the one hand, Homer and Vergil retained their textbook status within the respective educational systems in the Greek and Latin spheres. On the other hand, there was a culture founded on Holy Scripture and the Hebrew heritage and cultivated in a liturgical and spiritual sphere, where the Psalms and other biblical books were the first textbooks learnt by heart. In the monastic—or liturgical—culture the *cursus* of the Divine Office and the solemn celebration of the Roman Mass clearly form the core of daily life, every day and week within the circle of the liturgical year.

Much intellectual force was devoted to the formation and explanation of every detail in the liturgical celebration. The liturgy itself was treated as a sacred poem full of hidden meaning. Within this context new lyrical genres arose.

Many of the works in all the different hermeneutic genres, commentaries, *expositiones*, glosses, verses inserted into the Chants, etc. were evidently resources to be used in specific contexts in answer to specific requirements. Consequently, they could be rewritten or adapted according to the changing needs. The fluidity of these different types of texts resulted at times in a bewildering variety of recensions and traditions. Given a culture where the notion of 'the original text' and an author's own revised text was not considered important, and where the mere act of copying a text could rather be seen as a challenge to recompose it, variants and different versions must be considered in a different light than in the case of the works of the classical authors.

This tendency to create ever-varying versions, is a characteristic trait in lyrics inserted into the Chants of the Mass. These texts, called tropes, came to constitute a separate branch of medieval imaginative and theological hermeneutics from the ninth to the twelfth centuries. The authors provide interpretations of the Biblical words of the Chants, trying to express the meaning of the base texts in metaphors, images or tropes—with the effect that the grammatical term 'trope' came to be the name of the literary and musical genre itself. Other texts were initially added to short melismas sung within different liturgical Chants and called 'prosulas', but in particular to the long melodies, the 'melismas' or 'sequentiae', of the *Alleluia* and constituting the genre called 'sequence' or 'prose'. To these genres we will presently return. Later, new kinds of text commentaries, devoted to liturgical poetry, such as commentaries on hymns and sequences, became literary genres in their own right.¹

For the Christian poets, the Hebrew expression *Alleluia*, mostly interpreted as *Laudes Deo*, evidently constituted an essential source of inspiration and it became one of the most frequent words in the Roman liturgy. But the word *Alleluia* and its interpretations are frequently

¹ On Hymn commentaries, see e.g. Boynton S., "Latin Glosses on the Office Hymns in Eleventh-Century Continental Hymnaries", *The Journal of Medieval Latin* 11 (2001) 1–26; on Sequence commentaries, see Kihlman E., *Expositiones sequentiarum. Medieval Sequence Commentaries and Prologues. Editions with Introductions*, Studia Latina Stockholmiensia 53 (Stockholm: 2006).

used in Latin texts also outside the liturgy in the poetry of Carolingian authors, as for instance those related to Louis the Pious and even more to the so-called palace school of Charles the Bald in the ninth century. Among them, we call to mind, authors such as Gottschalk of Orbais, Jonas of Autun, and Louis, abbot of St Denis. There was Abbot Smaragdus of Mihiel, who had assisted Benedict of Aniane in reforming the Benedictine monastic life, and who was well established in both monastic and royal milieus, and close to the court of Louis the Pious.² We know Smaragdus as the writer of a commentary on the Rule of Benedict, of the *Diadema monachorum*, a collection of prayers and readings to be used by the monks through the liturgical year, and of the *Via regia*, mainly written for the education of the royal sons.³ There was Paschasius Radbertus, the learned abbot of Corbie, author of the treatise *De fide spe et caritate*, of numerous poems, and of Biblical commentaries such as that on the Lamentations of Jeremiah.⁴ There was Lupus of Ferrière, pupil of Hrabanus Maurus in Fulda, who had been installed as abbot of Ferrière by Charles the Bald in 841, composer of sermons and hymns and another of the poets related to the court.⁵ Another central personality in the learned circle of the palace school in the middle of the century was Sedulius Scotus from the Irish colony in Liège, who wrote commentaries on the grammarians Donatus, Priscianus, and Eutuches, as well as Biblical commentaries. Typical for the integration of Classical and Biblical material is his florilegium *Collectaneum* mingling classical and Christian poets; his name is also attached to a collection of *Proverbia Graecorum*, as well as a *Liber de*

² See e.g. Riché P, *Les Carolingiens. Une famille qui fit l'Europe* (Paris: 1983); McKitterick R., "The Palace School of Charles the Bald", in *Charles the Bald Court and Kingdom*, ed. M. Gibson – J. Nelson – D. Ganz (London: 1981) 385–400; McKitterick R., *The Carolingians and the Written Word* (Cambridge: 1989, repr. 1995) 18–19; Godman P., "Latin Poetry under Charles the Bald and Carolingian Poetry", in *Charles the Bald Court and Kingdom*, 293–309; Godman P., *Poetry of the Carolingian Renaissance* (London: 1985).

³ Smaragdus, PL 102; MGH *Poetae*, I, ed. E. Dümmler (Berlin: 1881) 607–19.

⁴ PL 120; CCCM 56, 56A, 56B, ed. B. Paulus (Turnhout: 1977–85); MGH *Poetae*, III, 45–53. See further Andrée A., "From poeta plangens to rhetor divinus. Towards an Understanding of the Rhetorical Hermeneutics of Gilbertus Universalis in his Gloss to Lamentations", in *Sapientia et eloquentia. Meaning and Function in Liturgical Poetry, Music, Drama in the Middle Ages*, ed. G. Iversen – N. Bell, Disputatio 11 (Turnhout: 2009).

⁵ PL 119, cols 427–700.

rektoribus Christianis, another book for the education of princes.⁶ And, of course, there was the learned Irish scholar John Scotus Eriugena, a leading figure in the palace school from around the middle of the century, who, at Charles's request, translated the treatise on the celestial hierarchies attributed to Dionysius the Areopagite. John Scotus has at the same time left us many poems in Latin and Greek, often mixing the two languages.⁷ His pupil Hieric of Auxerre, also tied to the palace school, wrote the verse life of St Germanus, again at Charles's request.⁸ Authorities such as these represent an intellectual way of life framed in a monastic milieu and lived through the Psalter, but also formed by the study of classical Latin and even the Greek authors. Since the days of Ludwig Traube, studies of Carolingian and post-Carolingian verse have generally been limited to festive hymns and poems celebrating the king and written by identified scholars such as these.

Despite this formidable roll-call, possibly the most innovative poetry of the ninth century is found elsewhere than in metrical verses written for festive occasions by such luminaries. Many important sources for new types of poetry in this period are found instead in books intended for use in the liturgy and in a monastic context. It is not enough to state, with Peter Godman, that 'the first and the greatest continuity between Latin poetry under Louis the Pious and under Charles the Bald lay in the pre-eminence of the hagiographical and moral-didactic genres';⁹ to these genres we need to add liturgical poetry, and especially the new poetic genres related to the singing of the Psalms and of the *Alleluia*. We recall how Charles the Bald, continuing the tradition of his grandfather Charlemagne and his father Louis the Pious, eagerly supported the establishment of new abbeys and promoted monastic conversion.¹⁰

⁶ PL 103, cols 9–352; MGH *Poetae*, III, 154–236; CCCM 40 B–C, ed. B. Löfstedt (Turnhout: 1977); CCCM 67, ed. D. Simpson – F. Dolbeau (Turnhout: 1988).

⁷ See Marenbom J., "Wulfad, Charles the Bald and John Scottus Eriugena", in *Charles the Bald* (note 2) 375–373; Riché P., "Charles le Chauve et la culture de son temps", in *Jean Scot Érigène et l'histoire de la philosophie*, ed. R. Roques (Paris: 1977) 37–46; Scotus Eriugena J., *Expositiones in ierarchiam coelestem*, ed. J. Barbet, CCCM 31 (Turnhout: 1975) passim. Also in his *De predestinatione* and *Periphysion*, John Scot mixes Greek and Latin.

⁸ MGH *Poetae*, III, 421–517.

⁹ Godman P. "Latin Poetry under Charles the Bald", in *Charles the Bald* (note 2) 301.

¹⁰ See Riché P., "Charles le Chauve et la culture de son temps", in *Jean Scot Érigène et l'histoire de la philosophie* (note 7) 37–46; McKitterick R., *The Carolingians and the Written Word* (note 2).

Charles, who was evidently very much engaged in monastic life in general as well as in the solemn celebration of the liturgy and who spent most of his time in monastic establishments, was even called '*pater monachorum*' and '*monachorum lucerna*' by Micon of Saint-Riquier.¹¹ Among the many abbeys under the special protection of the king, in several of which he served as lay abbot, there come to mind St Martin of Tours, St Vaast, Corbie, St Germain in Auxerre, St Riquier, as well as St Medard in Soissons, Compiègne, and St Denis.¹² The chapter of St Martial in Limoges was transformed by the king into an abbey in 848.¹³ He initiated the production of magnificent Bibles and liturgical books and provided the means for the abbeys under his protection to have substantial choirs to perform the liturgical chants.¹⁴

Psallite regi nostro psallite

The singing of psalmody naturally formed the core of monastic life, and the act of singing is treated as a mental instrument bringing the heart to compunction. The exhortation in Psalm 46 to sing praises to God, the king of heaven and earth, to sing with wisdom, may stand as a programme for large parts of the new poetic genres cultivated in the dynamic ninth century.

Psallite Deo nostro, psallite
psallite regi nostro, psallite
quoniam rex omnis terrae Deus
psallite sapienter¹⁵

¹¹ Micon of St Riquier, MGH *Poetae*, III, ed. L. Traube (Berlin: 1892) 294–368.

¹² Riché P., "Charles le Chauve et la culture de son temps", in *Jean Scot Érigène et l'histoire de la philosophie* (note 7) 37–46, and Riché P., *Les Carolingiens: une famille qui fit l'Europe* (Paris: 1983).

¹³ Martindale J., "Charles the Bald and the Government of the Kingdom of Aquitaine", in *Charles the Bald* (note 2) 109–35.

¹⁴ McKitterick R., "Charles the Bald (823–877) and his library: the patronage of learning", *English Historical Review* 95 (1980) 28–47; Vezin J., "Les Relations entre Saint Denis et d'autres scriptoria", *The Role of the Book in Medieval Culture*, ed. D. Ganz (Turnout: 1986) 17–40; Vezin J., "Les Manuscrits copiés à Saint Denis en France pendant l'époque carolingienne", *Paris et Île de France. Mémoires publiés par la Fédération des sociétés historiques et archéologique de Paris et l'Île de France* 32 (1981) 273–287; Iversen G., "Rex in hac aula. Réflexions sur les séquences de 'l'Antiphonaire de Charles le Chauve' (Paris, BnF lat 17436)", *Revue de musicologie* (2003) 31–45.

¹⁵ Ps. 46:7–8: 'Sing praises to our God, sing praises / sing praises to our king, sing praises / since God is the king of all the world / sing praises with wisdom'.

Psalms like this influenced poetic texts to be performed within the liturgy of the Mass as well as poems written to celebrate solemn events or for use as *titulus* verses in precious illuminated liturgical tomes, in Psalters and other Biblical books.

The tension between the two poetic spheres, that of the Psalter and that of the classical Latin poets, might be illustrated by the Easter poem *De Christo crucifixo* of John Scotus Eriugena, generally known as *Hellinas Troiasque*. In this famous poem, placed as the introductory verse into a collection of royal poems, the poet at once praises the triumph of Christ over death in the resurrection, and celebrates the triumphal return of Charles the Bald from the exile forced on him by Louis the German in 869. As Eduard Dutton suggests, it might then have been performed in the presence of the king wherever he spent Easter.¹⁶ In the opening lines, John Scotus describes the different literary programmes of the classical and the Christian poets:

Hellinas Troiasque suos cantarat Homerus
 Romuleam prolem finxerat ipse Maro;
 At nos caeligenum regis pia facta canamus,
 Continuo cursu quem canit orbis ovans.
 Illis Iliacas flammās subitasque ruinas
 Eroumque MAXAC dicere ludus erat,
 Ast nobis Christum devicto principe mundi
 Sanguine perfusum psallere dulce sonat.
 Illi composito falso sub imagine veri
 Fallere conductis versibus Arcadicis;
 Nobis virtutem patris veramque Sophiam
 Ymnizare licet laudibus eximiis.
 Moysarum cantus, ludos satyrasque loquaques
 Ipsius usus erat plaudere per populos;
 Dicta prophetarum nobis modulamine pulchro
 Consona procedunt cordibus ore fide.
 Nunc igitur Christi videamus summa tropea
 Ac nostrae mentis sidera perspicua.¹⁷

¹⁶ See Dutton P.E., "Eriugena, the Royal Poet", in *Jean Scot écrivain: actes du colloque international, Montréal, 28 août–2 septembre 1983*, éd. G.-H. Allard, Bellarmin (Montreal: 1986) 51–80, esp. 63–67.

¹⁷ PL 130, cols 1221–23; MGH Poetae, III, 527–29. Tr.: 'Homer made songs of his Greeks and of Ilion, Maro himself invented his fictitious song on the son of Romulus. But we will sing the holy facts of the king of heaven, whom the world praises in continuous course [of the Divine Office]. To them it was a play to tell about the flames and sudden ruins of Ilion and the fights of the heroes. But for us it is to make sweet psalms resound praising Christ wet with blood when the prince of the world was con-

With the verbs *figere* and *fallere*, John Scotus describes how the classical poets 'by means of learned artful verses' presented 'false inventions under the cover of truth' (*conductis versibus composito falso sub imagine veri*). In order to describe the works of the Christian poets, he uses on the other hand such terms as *psallere*, *ovans canere*, *dulce sonare*, *ymnizare*, and *laudibus eximiis*, all expressing a continuous sweet singing of praises to God.¹⁸

His contemporary Sedulius Scotus combines a learned Vergilian poetic vocabulary with the musical vocabulary of the commentaries of the Psalter and of prayers in a poem in Sapphic metre on a triumph over the Norman invaders:

Ostriger Iesus super omne regnat
 Quidquid excelsus genitor creavit,
 Stirpe Davidis benedicta proles,
 Gloria nostra,

Cui rependatur tymiama voti
 Quem celebremus pietatis acta
 Cui melos promat super astra regi
 Fistula laudis.

Gloriae plausus, modulans 'Osanna',
 Personet patrem genitumque Christum
 Spiritum sanctum: polus, unda, tellus,
 Glorificate.¹⁹

quered. In feigned composition they lied and deceived by means of learned Arcadian verses under the image of truth. To us it is given to praise in hymns the virtue of the Father and the true Wisdom. It was their custom to execute among people songs of Muses, and loquacious satiric plays. Through us, the words of the prophets resound in beautiful unison modulation from our hearts and mouth in faith. Now let us perceive Christ's glorious victory and the bright stars in our soul'.

¹⁸ Peter Dronke has pointed to the possible influence of John Scotus on the vocabulary used in prose in "Theologia velut quadam poetria", in *Jean Scot Érigène et l'histoire de la philosophie* (note 7) 243–52; Iversen G., "A la recherche d'une poétique de la poésie liturgique. Réflexions autour des séquences de l'Antiphonaire de Charles le Chauve", in *Poesía Latina Medieval (siglos V–XV)*, Actas del IV Congreso del "Internationales Mittellateinerkomitee" Santiago de Compostela, 12–15 de septiembre de 2002, ed. M.C. Díaz y Díaz – J.M. Díaz de Bustamante (Sismel: 2005) 891–903.

¹⁹ MGH *Poetae*, III, 209. Tr.: 'Clothed in purple, Jesus reigns over all, whatever the Father in the highest created. He is the blessed fruit from the stem of David, he is our Glory. To him is due the incense of prayers, him we celebrate through acts of piety, to him, the king over the stars, the flute of praise makes melody resound. The resounding songs of glory, in modulating Osanna, praise the Father, Christ the Son, and the Holy Spirit; heaven, sea, and earth sing his glory'.

The poet here in effect describes Christ the Pantokrator. To him should ascend 'the incense of prayer', to him 'the flute of praise' should bring forth the song of praise. At the same time, Christ is addressed as *Gloria nostra*, the one who comes from the root of David (here with a learned reflected form of the Hebrew name David, whereas the Hebrew names were normally used in a non-reflected form). It is notable that Sedulius in this poem for a festive occasion evokes the singing of the liturgical chants, of *Gloria* in triumph and of *Osanna* in sweet modulation, and paraphrases the Psalms in exhorting heaven, sea, and earth to glorify and sing a new song to the Lord, as in Psalm 148, to which we will return below.

In another poem written for the reception of Bishop Franco, Sedulius Scotus uses a similar vocabulary, mixing the inspiration of the classical muses with the Psalms of David:

Fistula nostra sonet, melicis et concinat odis,
Musis organizans fistula nostra sonet.
Dulce sonate melos, sollemnica ducite festa:
Dulcis adest pastor: dulce sonate melos [...]
Cunctus ovans populus nunc 'Alleluia' canat
Promit 'Osanna novum' cunctus ovans populus.²⁰

The singing of the Psalms in a *cursus continuus* of the Divine Office is described in the strophes 1, 11 and 13 of a metric poem in trochaic meter (8p+7pp) attributed to Smaragdus of Mihiel:

Sume plectrum, lingua, metri tange cordas trochei,
aureum deprome carmen aurea de patrea
est ubi beata vita et perhennis gloria.
[...]
Cuius in platea semper dulciter melodians
hymnum dicit angelorum pacifer concordia,
hymnum semper et beata turba fratrum personat
[...]
Omnibus diebus, horis et momentis singulis,
mensibus cunctis et annis omnibusque saeculis
turba fratrum dicit hymnum mysticis in vocibus.²¹

²⁰ Sedulius Scotus, *De adventu Franconis Episcopi*, MGH *Poetae*, III, 185. Tr.: 'Let the flute of our voice resound and let it sound out in melodious songs; singing with help of the muses, let the flute of our voice resound. Sing the sweet melody; celebrate the feast. The sweet shepherd is here; sing the sweet melody [...]. Now let all the rejoicing people sing Alleluia! Let a new Osanna resound, all the rejoicing people!'

²¹ *Versus Zmaragdi*, MGH, *Poetae*. I (Berlin: 1886) 619. Tr.: 'Tongue, take the plectrum, move the chords of the trochaic metre / sing the golden song about the golden

Thus, by the mixture of the Biblical vocabulary of the liturgical chants and prayers and the vocabulary of classical verse, the authors create a new poetry bringing two literary worlds together with a new sense. We will in the following return to this and similar texts actually performed within the liturgical chants themselves.

In the ninth century, new genres of liturgical poetry were being created, genres of text and music, tropes, proses, sequences, were actually inserted into the Chants of the Roman mass and lingered around the melodic sequences of the *Alleluia*. Extensive repertoires were collected all over Europe in a great variety of manuscripts, be it a missal, a gradual, an antiphonary, or a manuscript labelled '*troparium*', '*sequentiarium*' or '*prosarium*', '*cantatorium*', or '*troparium-prosarium*'. One essential aspect of this liturgical poetry is that the authors and redactors here developed the theological hermeneutics in the tradition of the commentaries to be performed in the liturgy itself. Perhaps it was due to the fact that these genres were preserved in liturgical manuscripts and kept among the *libri divini* that they have largely been overlooked by research on medieval literature: perhaps, also because they are among the most complex literary and musical forms created in the Middle Ages and the problems in editing these ever-varying, multilevel texts are manifold.

Interpreting the Liturgy

Among commentators upon the meaning of the liturgy itself, and on the meaning and function of the *Introit* chants of the Roman mass, Amalarius, at the beginning of the ninth century, states that

the office which is called entrance of the mass, (*qui vocatur introitus missae*) begins with the first antiphon, which is named 'introitus' (*quae dicitur introitus*) and ends with the prayer said by the priest before the lesson. The entrance of the bishop, who is the *vicarius Christi*, brings to our memory the advent of Christ and the people joining him [...]. It is celebrated until he sits down, for it partly refers to the office that Christ,

Fatherland / where there is the blessed life and eternal glory [...] In his palace the peace-bringing union of the angels / Sings praises without end in sweet modulation / And without end the blessed choir of the brothers sings praises.

[...] Every day and every hour and every single moment / Every month and year and century / The choir of the brothers sings the hymn in inspired voices'.

or his disciples, bodily fulfilled in the world, until he ascended to his Father's throne.²²

In another commentary Amalarius claims that

the *Introit* of the Mass corresponds to the prophesies of the patriarchs and prophets and it originates from the choir of prophets who announced Christ's coming into the world. Through their prayers and prophesies he entered the world; coming out of the secrecy of heaven like the bishop or priest coming out of the sacristy, he comes to the altar, while the choir of clerics sing prayers and prophesies.

The Psalm that is sung to receive him as he enters, *ad recipiendum introitum* signifies the first coming of Christ according to the prophecy.²³ The same interpretation is expressed by authors of the following generations, as for instance, by Rupert of Deutz in the twelfth century:

When the bishop is about to proceed up to the sacred altar, he himself as well as the entire present assembly of the church shall exalt the mind and faithfully recall the memory of the incarnation, the passion, the resurrection and of the ascension of our Lord, Jesus Christ, and of all the saints who expected his coming to the world, prefigured it with their deeds, prophesied it with their words—spoken and written—and meditating over these they shall burst out in singing, performing the antiphon to accompany the entrance. For just as the entrance of the priest symbolizes the coming of the Son of God into this world, so the antiphon that is sung at the entrance symbolizes the words and the expectation of the patriarchs and prophets. Thus, when the entrance takes place, the *introit* antiphon is to be sung at least once and with such pomp as best suits what is signified.²⁴

²² *Amalarii episcopi opera liturgica omnia* I-III, Studi e testi 138-140, ed. I.M. Hanssens, vol. II *Liber Officialis* (Città del Vaticano: 1948-50) 271: 'Officium qui vocatur introitus missae, habet initium a prima antiphona, quae dicitur introitus, et finitur in oratione quae a sacerdote dicitur ante lectionem. Introitus episcopi ad missam, qui vicarius est Christi, ipsius adventum nobis ad memoriam reducit et populi adunationem ad eum [...]. Introitus episcopi celebratur usque ad sessionem suam; tangit enim ex parte officium quod Christus corporaliter gessit in terra, sive discipuli eius, usquequo ascendit ad sedem paternam'.

²³ *Amalarii episcopi opera liturgica omnia* (note 22), vol. I *Ordinis missae expositio*, 298.

²⁴ Rupert av Deutz, *De divinis officiis liber* I, CCCM, ed. H. Hacke (Turnhout: 1967): 'Sacerdote tandem ad sanctum altare ingressuro, debet tam ipse sacerdos quam et tota praesens Ecclesia, dilatare animam suam, et amplo fidei sinu tenere memoriam incarnationis, passionis, resurrectionis et ascensionis Domini nostri Jesu Christi, et memoriam omnium sanctorum, qui tum ab initio mundi votis expectaverunt, gestis praefiguraverunt, dictisque aut scriptis prophetaverunt, et in eorum contemplatione in voces erumpere, praecinendo antiphonam, quae dicitur ad introitum. Nam sicut

The musical performance of the *Introit* is essential for the preparation and exaltation of the mind of the participants of the mass. In the anonymous exposition, *Quotiens contra se*, dating from the time of Charles the Bald, we read the following wise explanation for the need to open the mass with singing:

Since the mind is scattered and disturbed by the tumult of worldly worries, and since we cannot immediately forget all the worries of the world as we enter into the church, an antiphon is sung during the entrance in order to make us pray to the Lord with a purer mind and with more attention. And with the interlude of sweet modulation also the *Kyrie eleison* (that is 'Lord, have mercy on us' and *Christe eleison*, that is 'Christ have mercy on us') is sung with lamenting and extended voices (*flebilibus et prolixioribus vocibus*) and not until then the prophetic or apostolic and evangelic lesson is recited.²⁵

The exposition also states that the *Introit* 'is a preparation and an exercise of our minds (*preparatio et exercitatio animorum*) so that our thoughts are removed step by step from worldly thoughts and worries and brought to thoughts about, and longing for, heaven'.

The thought that the chants in sweet modulation are needed as preparation before the Biblical readings is expressed already by Hrabanus Maurus, who describes the *introit* as *modulatio divinae laudis*.²⁶ Likewise we read in the anonymous *Celebratio missae* quoted by Remigius of Auxerre in his exposition of the mass: 'Only after the sweet modulation of the chant has the mind been directed towards spiritual things

introitus sacerdotis ingressum Filii Dei in hunc mundum, sic antiphona quae dicitur 'ad introitum' voces et expectationem praeferunt patriarcharum et prophetarum. Ingreditur ergo antiphona praedicta, non minus quam semel decantata cum eiusmodi pompa quae significatae rei aptissime congruit'.

²⁵ *Quotiens contra se*, PL 96, col. 1483: 'Quoniam animus ad multa divisus, tumultibus curarum saecularum perturbatus, et non statim ut ecclesiam ingredimur omnium mundi huius sollicitudinum possumus oblivisci, quo purius et attentius puriorem atque attentiores orationem ad Dominum fundere valeamus, quod antiphona ad introitum decantatur, et suavi modulatione interposita nec non et Kyrie heleyson, id est "Domine, miserere nobis" et Christe heleyson, id est "Christe, miserere nobis", flebilibus ac prolixioribus vocibus conclamatur, lectio prophetica vel apostolica et evangelica recitatur'.

²⁶ Hrabanus Maurus, *De institutione monachorum libri tres*, ed. A. Knöpfer (Munich: 1900) 72; Ekenberg A., *Cur cantatur, Die Funktionen des liturgischen Gesanges nach den Autoren der Karolingerzeit*, BTR (Uppsala: 1987) 40.

and through the compunction of the heart been prepared to receive the life- giving words of the Gospel'.²⁷

The same interpretations can actually often be seen developed in the trope verses inserted between the Old Testament phrases of the Chants sung in order to accompany the entrance of the bishop, or priest, representing the Priest as Christ coming into the world, and as the angel of the Revelation in front of the altar. At the same time, the singers performing the *Introit* antiphon represent the prophets, the patriarchs, the apostles and the angels predicting and announcing the theme of the feast. They can even represent the protagonist of the feast or they can represent the people welcoming Christ. In the following we will look at examples of such early tropes inserted into the *Introit* Chant and to the *Gloria in excelsis*, and an early sequence to the *Alleluia*.

Theological Hermeneutics Performed in Singing

The *Introit* procession can be seen as a direct heritage from the Classical Roman tradition of pompous triumphal processions. This aspect appears most clearly in the *Ordo Romanus I* describing the papal procession in Rome.²⁸ The tropes added to the *Introit* at festive celebrations expand the length of the ceremony and mark the degree of festivity. They were perceived as songs together with their melodies and they were learnt by heart in singing. Many commentators have pondered the importance of the music and the act of singing as a means of meditation beyond the meaning of the words, and as a means of expressing that which cannot be expressed in mere words. In singing the participants in the liturgical celebration of the mass should prepare their minds to receive the words of the Holy Writ and join their voices to the celestial choirs.²⁹ In the tropes added to the *Introit* there is generally a strong

²⁷ Remigius of Auxerre, *Expositio missae* (Ps-Alquin), PL 101 col. 1247: 'non ab apostolica quod maius esse constat eadem missa incohatur, sed potius canendo vel psallendo, quatenus dulcedo suavitatis corda audientium prius demulceat, et sic post modulationem suavis cantilenae in spiritualibus rebus populus per compunctionem mentis intentus salutifera evangelii verba ardenti affectu suscipiat'.

²⁸ *Ordo Romanus primus*, ed. E.-G. Cuthbert (London: 1905).

²⁹ See Iversen G., "Verba canendi in tropes and Sequences", in *Latin Culture in the Eleventh Century. Proceedings from the Third International Conference on Medieval Latin Studies. September 9–12 1998*, I–II, ed. M.W. Herren – C.J. McDonough – R.G. Arthur (Turnhout: 2001) I 444–473; Iversen G., *Chanter avec les anges, Poésie dans la*

emphasis on the function of Biblical commentary, the re-interpretation of the Old Testament words by a Christian understanding, which at the same time exalts and prepares the mind to receive the words of the Scriptural lessons.

According to a note in the *Liber Pontificalis* quoted by Ademar de Chabannes (998–1034) the practice of singing tropes between the phrases of the *Introit* on specially festive days, and of singing tropes to the *Gloria in excelsis*, as well as proses or sequences to the *Alleluia*, should have been sanctioned by Pope Adrian II (867–872), that is in the time of Charles the Bald (840–877).³⁰

At the same time the Council of Meaux in 845 firmly bans any additions to the *Gloria in excelsis*, called ‘*adinventiones*’, and additions to the *Alleluia* ‘*compositiones quas prosas vocant*’:

Because of the utterly damnable wickedness of certain persons who in their delight in novelties do not hesitate to interpolate their own inventions into the purity of antiquity, we have decided that no cleric and no monk may take the liberty of adding, interposing, reciting, murmuring or singing aloud any kind of compositions which they call proses or any other fictions in the angelic hymn, that is *Gloria in excelsis deo* and in the sequences which they solemnly use to sing to the *Alleluia*.³¹

Evidently the medieval writers and singers never used the term ‘poetry’ but the functional terms as *tropus*, *laudes*, *versus*, *prosa*, *sequentia*, etc, to rubricate the lyrics in the manuscripts, or, as here, also ‘*hymnos ininterstinctos*’, *laudes*, *inserta cantica*, *festivas laudes*, *figurata ornamenta in laudes*, or in a pejorative sense: *novitates*, *fictiones adinventiones*.

messe médiévale. Interprétations et commentaires (Paris: 2001) 269–298. Engl. translation. *Laus angelica. Poetry in the Medieval Mass*. (Turnhout: 2009).

³⁰ *Liber Pontificalis* (note 1) 1, clxxi: ‘Hic constituit per monasteria ad Missam majorem in solemnitatibus praecipuis, non solum in hymno angelico *Gloria in excelsis Deo* canere hymnos ininterstinctos quos ‘laudes’ appellant; verum etiam in Psalmis Davitici quos *Introitus* dicunt interserta cantica decantare, quae Romani ‘festivas laudes’, Franci ‘tropos’ appellant; quod interpretatur ‘Figurata ornamenta in laudibus Domini’. Melodias quoque ante Evangelium concinendas tradidit, quas dicunt ‘Sequentias’, quia sequitur eas Evangelium’. See Flynn W., *Medieval Music as Medieval Exegesis*, *Studies in Liturgical Musicology* 8 (Maryland-London: 1999) 11.

³¹ *MGH Concilia* 3, *Die Konzilien der Karolingischen Teilreiche 843–859*, 129: ‘Propter improbitatem quorundam omnino dampnabilem, qui novitatibus delectati puritatem antiquitatis suis adinventionibus interpolare non metuunt, statuimus, ut nullus clericorum nullusque monachorum in Ymno Angelico, id est *Gloria in excelsis deo* et in sequentiis, quae in *Alleluia* sollempniter decantari solent, quaslibet compositiones, quas prosas vocant, vel ullas ficiones addere, interponere, recitare, submurmurare aut decantare presummat’.

Today we know around nine thousand trope-verses added to the different Chants, and more than six thousand sequences.³²

*Interpreting the Words of the Prophet within the Introit
Antiphon Puer natus*

The *introit* antiphon for the third Christmas mass, *Puer natus*, is built on a passage from Isaiah 9: 6–7 and reads:

Puer natus est nobis et filius datus est nobis
cuius imperium super humerum eius
et vocabitur nomen eius magni consilii angelus.

In the early Saint-Gall repertory, this antiphon is introduced by the *verse Hodie cantandus* attributed to Tuotilo, poet, musician and ivory sculptor in Saint Gall. For long this introduction came to be one of the most widely spread tropes, in particular in the East-Frankish repertories:

– Hodie cantandus est nobis puer,
quem gignebat ineffabiliter ante tempora pater,
et eundem sub tempore generavit inclyta mater.
– Quis est iste puer,
quem tam magnis praeconiis dignum vociferatis?
Dicite nobis, ut collaudatores esse possimus.
– Hic enim est,
quem presagus et electus symmista dei
ad terras venturum providens
longe ante prenотavit

³² Some of the texts were edited a century ago in the *Analecta hymnica* (AH) vols. 47 and 49, but in a way that does not reflect the particular character of this kind of liturgical lyrics. For modern editions see the *Corpus Troporum* (= CT): CT I, *Tropes du propre de la messe, 1, Cycle de Noël*, Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis, Studia Latina Stockholmiensia (SLS) 21, ed. R. Jonsson et. al. (Stockholm: 1975); CT II, *Prosules de la messe, 1, Tropes de l'alleluia. édition critique des textes* par O. Marcusson, SLS 22 (Stockholm: 1976); CT III, *Tropes du propre de la messe, 2, Cycle de Pâques*, SLS 25, ed. G. Björkvall – G. Iversen – R. Jonsson (Stockholm: 1982); CT IV, *Tropes de l'Agnus Dei. Édition critique suivie d'une étude analytique*, SLS 26, ed. G. Iversen (Stockholm: 1980); CT V, *Les deux tropaires d'Apt, mss. 17 et 18, Inventaire analytique des mss. et édition des textes uniques*, SLS 32, ed. G. Björkvall (Stockholm: 1986); CT VI, *Prosules de la messe, 2, Les prosules limousines de Wolfenbüttel. Edition critique des prosules de l'alleluia du manuscrit Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek Cod. Guelf. 79 Gud. lat.*, SLS 31, ed. E. Odelman (Stockholm: 1986); CT VII, *Tropes du Sanctus, édition critique avec une introduction*, SLS 34, ed. G. Iversen (Stockholm: 1990); CT IX, *Tropes for the Proper of the Mass.4. The Feast of the Blessed Virgin Mary*, ed. A-K. Johansson (Stockholm: 1998).

sicque predixit:

Puer natus est nobis.,

preter omnium puerorum consuetudinem

de virgine procreatus

Et filius datus est nobis.

ex tempore quidem matri

sempiternitate vero consubstantialis deo patri,

Cuius imperium super humerum eius.

– crucis videlicet lignum –

ad debellandum invisibiles inimicos.

Et vocabitur

privilegio patris filii superni

Nomen eius

Iudeis ac gentibus adnuntians se deum,

*Magni consilii angelus.*³³

The first lines of the introduction present the theological essence of the feast, through the angels bringing the message of the birth of Christ. The opening word *hodie*, ‘today’, places the present day in focus, at the same time connecting the opening word *hodie* with *puer*, the child that is to be praised in song, *cantandus*.

Then, the aspect outside and before all time is expressed in the next line through *ante tempora*, ‘before time’, connected with *pater*, and a third aspect, that of historical New Testament time through the words *sub tempore*, ‘in time’, connected with *mater*. The words *puer*, *pater* and *mater* are stressed in the text by their parallel positions at the end of the lines. The imperfect *gignebat*, designating the birth outside and before all time, stands against the perfect form *generavit*, describing the birth as a historical event, again underlining the two aspects of the generation of Christ. Within the few lines of this concentrated

³³ Stiftsbibliothek Sankt Gallen cod. 376, p. 39. Tr.: ‘Today we must celebrate in song the child / whom the Father begot before time, ineffably / and whom in time the peerless mother brought forth. / —Who is this child / whom you noise abroad as deserving such great proclamations? / Tell us, that we may be praise-sharers. / —In truth it is he / whom God’s prophetic and elect initiate, / foreseeing he would come to earth, / pointed out long ago / and foretold thus: / *A child is born for us,* / beyond the common manner of any child / procreated from a maiden, / *and a son is given to us* / consubstantial with his mother by way of time, / with his Father, God, in perpetuity, / *whose dominion is / shall be on his shoulder* / —in truth, the wood of the cross— / to overcome invisible enemies. / *And he shall be called* / through privilege of the Father of that high-born Son / *by name,* / proclaiming himself God to Jews and Gentiles, / *Angel of great counsel.* / (Ps.) *Sing a new canticle to the Lord, / For he has done wondrous things.*

introduction the different temporal aspects are brought together and set side by side.

The announcement is followed by the question from the earthly singers who want to join the angels and sing praises together with them as their *collaudatores*. The text is a dramatic dialogue the structure of which resembles that of the famous Easter dialogue *Quem quaeritis in sepulchro*, 'Whom do you search for in the sepulchre?' which probably dates to around the same period. (How these two texts are related to each other in time has often been discussed, but the question still remains to be settled). Here, in Tuotilo's introduction, the earthly singers ask the simple question '*Quis est iste puer?*', 'Who is this child?' and continue with the eager exhortation '*dicite nobis*', 'tell us!'. The answer coming from the angels begins with a similarly simple phrase, '*Hic enim est*', followed by the explanation that this child is the one whose future coming, *venturum*, was predicted by the prophet long before, *longe ante*.

Together with the future form *venturum* in the trope text, the prefix *prae-*, four times repeated, underlines the prophetic meaning of the Old Testament words. Thus, the prophet Isaiah is designated by the words *praesagus et electus symmista dei*. He is the one who saw and noted in advance, *praevidens* and *praenotavit*, and who finally foretold it, *praedixit*. Thus, the words *sicque praedixit*, 'and foretold thus', introduce the words of the prophet Isaiah pronounced in the text of the Antiphon *Puer natus*. In this elaborate way the introductory trope text includes the typological aspect of prophetic time from the Old Testament.

The trope verses that follow Tuotilo's introduction are inserted between the phrases of the antiphon. The words of the trope verses even form a syntactic unit with the phrases of the antiphon. It is notable that, in contrast to Tuotilo's introduction, none of these trope lines introduce what follows, but refer back to the preceding phrase of the antiphon, a compositional pattern which is particularly important in early East-Frankish trope repertoires. The double and antithetic aspect of time is continuously underlined through the words *ex tempore* tied to *matri*, in contrast to *sempiternitate* tied to *patri*.

The condensed Old Testament phrase of the antiphon *Cuius imperium super humerum eius*, 'whose dominion is / shall be upon his shoulder', is tied to the person of Christ and the New Testament history by the interpretation that the 'dominion laid on his shoulder' is at the same time the 'wood of the cross'—*crucis videlicet lignum*—put on his shoulder. Through this explicit reference to the cross, the theme

of Christ's passion and salvation through his death, inherent to every mass, is expressively brought into presence even within the frame of the *introit* antiphon for the feast of the Nativity. In short it is a highly condensed poetic text, characterized not by any regular versification or rhyme, but by its rhetorical devices such as paradox, anaphora, *geminatio*, *adnominatio*, and by creative biblical exegesis.

Tropes to the Puer natus in a West-Frankish Repertory

In a similar way, a series of tropes added to the same *Introit* antiphon in the abbey of Saint Peter in Moissac in Southern France, are used to interpret and transform the words of the prophet Isaiah into a Christian message. Just as in Saint Gall, the antiphon *Puer natus* in the Moissac repertory is preceded by a long introductory verse formed as a dialogue built on the model of *Quem queritis in sepulchro*. After the introductory dialogue follows a series of six alternative tropes, all in a still similar, ever-varying form which explain, comment and develop the words of the Old Testament prophet sung in the antiphon. As usual the words of this last are simply indicated by a short incipit. Four of these are given in the example below. The opening words are missing since the preceding folio, probably containing the incipit and a large colourful initial, has been cut out:

– <Quem queritis in presepe,>
pastores dicite.

– Salvatorem Christum,
dominum infantem
pannis involutum
secundum sermonem angelicum.

– Adest hic parvulus
cum Maria matre sua,
de qua dudum vaticinando
Isaias dixerat propheta:

‘Ecce virgo concipiet
et pariet filium.’
Et nunc euntes
dicite, quia natus est.

– Alleluia, alleluia.
Iam vere scimus
Christum natum in terris,

de quo canite omnes
 cum propheta dicentes:
Puer natus est <nobis
Et filius datus est nobis,
Cuius imperium super humerum eius.
Et vocabitur nomen eius
*Magni consilii angelus.*³⁴

In Moissac the dialogue between the angels and the shepherds, described in the Gospel, opens with the question of the angel, asking '*Quem queritis—in presepe?*'—in the crib, not in the sepulchre. It concludes with the triumphal 'Alleluia, alleluia, now we know for sure that—the child is born' and with the exhortation to all to sing with the words of the prophet: '*Puer natus est*'.

After this first section follows a series of six alternative tropes all containing four to six verses inserted in varying ways into the antiphon. Just as in the trope from Saint-Gall, above, the prophecy in the Old Testament and the fulfilment in the Gospel are brought into correspondence by means of the inserted comments. Here, the main biblical passages referred to in the texts are taken from Isaiah and Luke, (Is 7:14; Lc 2:12; Act 10:43; Is 7:14; Lc 1:33; Is 9:6; Io 3:17; Io 4: 9,14; Gal 4:4; 3 Reg 2:12; Lc 1: 32; Lc 1: 27; Apc 5: 6–7; Is 41: 23; Is 44: 7; Io 4: 25; Sap 18:24; Apc 19:12; Is 7: 14; Est 14: 19). The patriarchs and prophets are verbally present in the trope verses in words such as *de qua dudum vaticinando Isaias dixerat propheta, quem prophete diu vaticinati sunt, de quo prophete cecinerunt dicentes, or dicamus cum propheta*, or *Quem nasci mundo docuere ex ordine vates*. The birth of the child is referred to in varying ways, but almost exclusively in phrases taken from different biblical sources. The singing assembly is addressed in invitations to sing the words of the *introit* and pronounce the words of the prophet, such as 'Sing, all, and pronounce together with the prophet!' (*Canite*

³⁴ Paris, BnF lat. n.a. 1871, fol. 4–4v. See Facsimile *Tropaire séquentiaire prosulaire de Moissac, Édition, introduction et index*, ed. M.-N. Colette (Paris: 2006). Tr.: '—Whom do you seek in the manger, / Tell us, O shepherds? / —Christ, the Saviour / the newborn Lord / wrapped in swaddling-clothes / according to the angelic words. / —Here is the infant / with his mother Mary, / about whom earlier / the prophet Isaiah, foretelling, / had said: / 'Behold a virgin shall conceive / and shall bear a son.' / And now, go forth, / say that he is born. / —Alleluia Alleluia! / Now we know truly / that Christ is born on earth, / sing about this all of you / saying with the prophet: / *A child is born to us / A son is given to us / whose authority is upon his shoulder / and his name shall be called / Angel of the great council*!'

omnes cum propheta dicentes), or 'Let us all sing in jubilation together with the prophet!' (*gratulanter dicamus cum propheta*).

As we have seen, the commentaries on the liturgy of the mass insist on the interpretation that Christ's coming into the world is represented in the liturgical performance by the priest entering into the church, proceeding to the altar, passing from the left to the right side, that is, passing from death to eternity, and taking his seat on the right side of the altar. The same double interpretation can be observed in these tropes in phrases such as *Hunc a patre iam novimus advenisse in mundum*, *Ecce adest verbum, filium suum hodie misit in mundum*, and *Ecce venit deus et homo*.

In a way generally cultivated by the authors of tropes from the ninth century, all the tropes underline the majesty of the heavenly kingdom where the king sits on the throne of his father. The *Maiestas Domini* theme is here expressed in the phrases *potestas et regnum in manu eius*, or *regni eius non erit finis, qui sedebit super thronum David*.

Maiestas domini in tropes to Gloria in excelsis

The praise of the heavenly King, enthroned in glory and fulgent light, is a theme constantly repeated and varied in liturgical poetry, particularly from the Carolingian period. The words *rex- lux- pax* are used as magical signals. The king depicted as Solomon and David is used as a figure for Christ, the heavenly king. Thus, Smaragdus of Saint-Mihiel describes in his *Via regia* the function of the king as *vicarius Christi*, in his office or *ministerium*, as Anne-Orange Poilpré³⁵ observes in her study *Maiestas domini*: 'Les représentations de souverains, peu nombreuses sous les règnes de Charlemagne et Louis le Pieux, connaissent un essor particulier sous le règne de Charles le Chauve.'³⁶ As Poilpré underlines, the importance of the coherent and hierarchic ecclesiastical and social structure is presented by means of the metaphor of the body and the image of *Maiestas Domini*, which existed already in the time of Charlemagne but which was stressed under Charles the Bald, for

³⁵ Poilpré A.-O., *Maiestas Domini. Une image de l'église en Occident V^e-IX^e siècle* (Paris: 2005) 260; Sassier Y., *Royauté et idéologie au Moyen Age, Bas-Empire, monde franc, France (IV^e-XII^e siècle)* (Paris: 2001) 137; see Smaragdus, *Via regia*, PL 102, col. 958.

³⁶ Poilpré A.-O., *Maiestas Domini* (note 35) 229-271, 252.

instance in the writings of the savants of the school of Auxerre, Haimon and Hieric, and of course, John Scotus Eriugena, as in his *Hierarchia celestis*.³⁷ In many tropes performed in the mass, the priest is the figure not only for Christ, but also for the king—present or not in the liturgical celebration—in a way similar to that of numerous illuminations in the precious manuscripts produced for the king in a Carolingian tradition continuing into the Ottonian illuminations.

The theme of the *Maiestas Domini* and the function of the symbolic royal presence is an important part also in early tropes to the Gloria chant. After the opening phrase, *Gloria in excelsis Deo*, the textual form of the chant itself is particularly close to the poetic language of the Psalms and the Canticles, with parallelism, repetition, anaphorically repeated invocations: just as the *Te Deum*, another of the so-called *psalmi idiotikoi*, consists of an opening part expressing the praises to God, a middle part containing the deprecations and a final doxology. From being originally particularly tied to Christmas, it came to be sung during all parts of the liturgical year except during the periods of Advent and Lent, in the same way as the *Alleluia*. In the commentaries of the mass the *Gloria in excelsis* is generally described as the song of angels and mankind together, and the praise of the Angels to Christ coming into the world. So, for instance, Rupert of Deutz explains following this tradition:

Now follows the hymn *Gloria in excelsis* that the holy Church has taken from the mouth of the angels. This is the hymn of both angels and men, first of the angels singing praises because at the birth of the Lord the most brilliant light had now been lit and with that light the eternal wisdom would surely find the lost drachma. It is therefor that they sing in anticipating this: 'And on earth peace to his people on earth, since none of all who are in heaven or under the earth has been able to make peace between God and man, the creator of all, God, made into man for man's sake, now would make peace in his own flesh and break down the wall between the opposites (between angels and mankind).'³⁸

³⁷ Poilpré A-O., *Maiestas Domini* (note 35) 259.

³⁸ Rupert of Deutz, *De divinis officiis per anni circulum libri XII*, I, PL 170, 27, CCCM 7: 'Mox sequitur hymnus *Gloria in excelsis*, quem ab ore angelorum Ecclesia sancta rapuit. Hic hymnus et angelorum est et hominum. Primum autem angelorum congratulantium quod nato Domino accensa jam esset lucerna clarissima (Luc II), cum qua sine dubio perditam drachmam inventura esset aeterna sapientia (Luc XV). Inde est, quod jam praeoccupantes dicunt: 'Et in terra pax hominibus bonae voluntatis (Luc II)', quia pacem nemo omnium, qui sunt in caelo, vel qui sub terra (Apoc.V), poterat facere inter Deum et homines hic factor omnium Deus, propter homines homo factus, jamjam facturus esset in carne sua, soluto pariete inimicitiarum. (Ephes II)'.

It seems that it was initially the opening part, with the parallel exclamations of praise, and the final doxology, that were first expanded by trope verses, called *laudes*, whereas the deprecations in the middle part were often left without insertions. The final part, again in the earliest layers, was often provided with references to the heavenly king and kingdom, by means of the verse *Regnum tuum solidum permanebit in eternum* ('Your kingdom will remain strong for ever!').

Laus tua Deus

In *Laus tua deus*, a Gloria trope found in the very earliest sources to be sung at Christmas, we again find the theme of praise to the heavenly king:

*Gloria in excelsis Deo
et in terra pax hominibus bonae voluntatis*
Laus tua, Deus, resonet coram te, rex,
Laudamus te.
Qui venisti propter nos, rex angelorum, Deus,
Benedicimus te.
In sede maiestatis tue
Adoramus te,
Veneranda trinitas,
Glorificamus te.
Gloriosus es, rex Israhel, in throno patris tui.
Gratias agimus tibi propter magnam gloriam tuam.
<Domine deus, rex caelestis, deus pater omnipotens,
Domine fili unigenite, Iesu Christe,
Domine deus, agnus dei, filius Patris,
Qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere nobis.
Qui tollis peccata mundi, suscipe deprecationem nostram.
Qui sedes ad dexteram patris, miserere nobis.
Quoniam
Tu solus dominus,
Tu solus sanctus,
Tu solus altissimus,
Iesu Christe,
Cum sancto Spiritu in gloria dei patris.
Amen.>³⁹

³⁹ Paris, BnF lat. 2373, fol. 3v. Tr.: 'Glory to God in the highest, / and peace to his people on earth / Let your praise resound in front of you, o King, / We sing your praises. / Who came for our salvation, o king of the angels, o God, / We give you thanks. / On the throne of your majesty / We worship you, / Venerable Trinity, / We glorify you. /

After the intonation *Gloria in excelsis deo* pronounced by the priest, the choir continues the praises to the Lord, with the words *laus tua deus*, i.e. with an expression parallel to the most common translation of the Hebrew *Alleluia*. As for instance in the rule of Isidore:

See your praise, O God, which means *Alleluia*,
fill heavens and earth
when it is expressed by the ineffable harmony of those in heaven
and pronounced in the offices of those on earth.⁴⁰

In the opening line of the Gloria trope, the celestial choir sings praises in front of the heavenly King, *resonet coram te, rex*. The verb *re-sonet* evokes the resonance between the two categories of singers, the celestial and the terrestrial. At the same time *laus*, by means of *adnominatio*, leads to the pronunciation of the following invocation of the Chant: *Laudamus te*, and hereby the connection between the celestial and terrestrial singers is again indicated.

The following trope verse, *Qui venisti propter nos*, recalls the words *Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini*, sung by the crowd at Christ's entry into Jerusalem before his Passion. Here, it introduces the next phrase of the chant *Benedicimus te*, and through this association the theme of passion becomes present in the chant for Christmas.

The theme of royalty is repeated in the addresses to the heavenly king and the eternal kingdom, to the throne and to majesty in words such as *rex*, three times, *maiestas*, *thronum* and *regnum*. The designation *rex angelorum* addressing the king of angels, used already by Augustine and Gregory the Great, and taken up in Carolingian time by Walahfrid Strabo, is frequently used by the poets around Charles the Bald, such as Lupus of Ferrières, and Remigius of Auxerre. The adoration of the king on his throne is expressively present in the verse, *in sede maiestatis tue* preparing for the next phrase of the chant: *Adoramus te*. The address to the Trinity, *Veneranda Trinitas*, leads to the phrase *Glorificamus te*, thus forming a final doxology of the opening part of the chant. The invocation to the glorious king of Israel sitting on the throne of his father, *Gloriosus es, rex Israhel, in throno patris tui*, refers of course to

You are full of glory, o king of Israhel, on the throne of your Father. / *We praise you for your glory <... Amen>*'.

⁴⁰ Isidore of Seville, *Capitula in Laudibus in Liturgia mozarabica secundum regulam Isidori*, PL 86, col 263: 'Ecce *laus tua, Deus*, quae est *Alleluia*, / et caelos implet, et terram: / cum supernarum ineffabili concentu exprimitur, / et terrenarum officiis declaratur'.

Christ as INRI, and to Solomon and David as prefiguring Him. But at the same time it is parallel to the images of the king enthroned in the illuminated manuscripts of the time, and where the monarch serves as an image of the celestial king.

The Gloria trope Flos laudis

The *Gloria in excelsis* is by far the most extensive Chant of the mass, and by its mere length the chant provides a large number of possible 'points of insertion', where trope verses could be added. It is not unusual to find well over twenty trope verses added to the same Gloria, and the variations are great, not only in readings, but also in number, order and exact position, from one manuscript to another. An example is the trope *Flos laudis* for the Dedication of Saint Peter in Moissac, a unique local version containing both verses found only in this trope, and 'wandering verses' used in numerous Gloria tropes of the time and indicated in the manuscripts simply by their incipit:

<Gloria in excelsis Deo
 et in terra pax hominibus bonae voluntatis.>
 Flos laudis, Christe, et stemma sanctorum, rex,
 Laudamus <te>
 Quem thalamus collaudat, te, ecclesiae sponsum,
 Benedicimus <te>
 Angeli et humanus homo
 Adoramus <te,>
 Laudabilis est, o David, domus tua, inclite,
 Glorificamus <te.>
 Sacra sti trophaeum crucis culmine huius, eia,
 Gratias <agimus tibi,>
 In qua votivas reddimus tibi odas dicentes
 Propter <magnam gloriam tuam.>
 Veritas omnis tu es et almi sertum templi,
 Domine Deus< rex caelestis.>
 Rogamus omnes, ut nos absolvas, benigne,
 Deus pater<omnipotens,>
 Qui tenes claves ac portas regni tuo reseras verbo,
 Domine fili <unigenite,>
 Deus fortis<et immortalis>
 Iesu <Christe,>
 Qui resides fulvam Cherubim super aethera sedem,
 Domine <Deus,>

Parce gregi pariter et miserere tuo,
Agnus <Dei,>
 Ut consortes efficiamini sanctorum habitaculis,
Filius<patris,>
 Rex caeli, servis miserere tuis,
Qui tollis<peccata mundi, miserere nobis.>
 Suscipe nunc<clemens servulorum laudes ab alto
 o pacis auctor>
Qui tollis <peccata mundi, suscipe deprecationem nostram.>
 Iudex mortis et populorum,
Qui sedes<ad dexteram patris, miserere nobis.>

 Aecclesiae dedicatio, tellus beatorum,
Quoniam<tu solus sanctus,>
 Prolis, o rutilis<patri coevus>
Tu solus<dominus,>
 Eros poli er<os summa residens in arce>
Tu solus <altissimus,>
 Regnum tuum solidum
 Per te, Christe, sistit omnipotens, Domine,—
 O rex gloriae, qui es splendor ac sponsus aecclesiae,—
 Quam decorata tuo quoque pretioso sanguine,—
 Hanc rege semper piissime,—
 Qui es fons misericordie.—
 Sceptrum regni permanebit in aeternum,
Iesu <Christe,>
 Ubi lux sine fine manet in secula seculorum.
*Cum sancto<spiritu in gloria Dei patris.Amen.>*⁴¹

⁴¹ Paris, BnF, na lat 1871, fol. 74v–75. Tr.: ‘Glory to God in the highest / and peace to his people on earth. / Blossom of praise, Christ, king and stem of angels, / We praise you / Whom the bridal chamber praises, O Bridegroom of the Church, / We worship you / Angels and mankind, / We glorify you / O glorious David, praiseworthy is thy house, / We give you thanks / You have consecrated the victorious cross in its vault, eia: / We thank you / Where we bring you votive songs in singing / for your great glory // You are all the truth and the garland of the holy temple. / Lord, God, celestial king, / We all pray to you, benign one, release us, / God Father almighty, / Who hold the keys and with your word open the gates of the kingdom, / Lord, only Son / God mighty <and immortal> / Jesus Christ, / Who reside on the golden throne above the Cherubim in heaven, / Lord God, / Preserve your herd and have mercy / Lamb of God / Let us be made consorts in the dwelling place of the angels / Son of the Father / King of heaven have mercy on your servants. / Who take away the sin of the world, have mercy on us. / Now receive<mildly from the highest the praises of the servants, / o creator of peace,> / Who take away the sin of the world, receive our prayer, / Judge over death and peoples, / Who sit on the right hand of the Father, // Dedication of the Church, home of the blessed ones, / For you alone are the Holy One / O shining offspring<coeval to the Father> / You alone are the Lord / Master of heaven, master residing in the summit. / You alone are the Most High / Your solid kingdom / will remain steady, through you, Christ, almighty Lord, / O king of glory, who are the splendour and the bridegroom

Flos laudis is sung to a Gloria melody that through its open form permits the insertion of ever-varying trope verses, and the performance of the entire Gloria together with the trope verses in a continuous melodic flow.⁴² This is the most frequently used Gloria melody in West-Frankish repertories from the ninth to the twelfth centuries, when it was always connected with tropes. In a time when tropes were no longer sung the melody fell out of use. This is a song of praise from angels and mankind, *angeli et humanus homo*, to the celestial king residing on the golden, shining throne above the angels in heaven, *Qui resides fulvam Cherubim super aethera sedem*, and a joyful *epithalamium* to the bridegroom of the Church, *O rex glorie qui es splendor ac sponsus ecclesie*.

The trope verses interpret and expand the words of the entire Chant. The deprecations in the middle part of the chant are all developed by means of the inserted verses. Here even the old verse *Regnum tuum solidum permanebit in eternum*, present already in early versions of *Laus tua Deus*, is expanded by a prosula, representing another popular sub-genre labelled 'Regnum—prosulas' with words sung to the melisma, the long melody following the syllable *per-* in *permanebit*. As in *Laus tua Deus*, the celestial king has a central place in the text, and, of course, the frequent addresses to the celestial king in this early liturgical composition go back to the Psalms, as with Psalm 46, cited above, *psallite regi nostro, psallite !*

To Sing in Concordance between Soul and Voice

Another essential aspect constantly reiterated in this poetry is the harmony between heart and voice. Referring to Psalm 46, Benedict prescribes in his Rule (19,4) that in singing praises before God and the angels, the soul should sound in concordance with the voice, *ut mens nostra concordet voci nostra*.

In explaining the meaning of the Psalms *Psallite sapienter* and *In conspectu angelorum psallam tibi*, Benedict says: "Thus we must consider

of the church, / o how adorned with your precious blood, / rule over it forever, o most pious / who are the fountain of misericord / the sceptre of the kingdom / will remain forever, / *Iesu Christe*, / Where the light without end will shine in eternity / *With the Holy Spirit in the glory of God the Father*'.

⁴² On this melody, Gloria melody A, see Colette M.-N., "Jubilus et trope dans le Gloria in excelsis deo", in *Recherches nouvelles sur les tropes liturgiques, Corpus Troporum*, ed. W. Arlt – G. Björkvall, SLS 36 (Stockholm: 1993) 175–191.

how it is fitting to behave in the presence of the Divinity and the angels; and in singing we should stand in such a way that our soul sings in concordance with our voice'.⁴³

In the same spirit Smaragdus of Mihiel explains in his commentary to Psalm 46, that the ideal form of monastic singing is an attentive contemplation and rumination of the sacred words, as a physical as much as a mental activity: 'When we sing the Psalms', he says, 'we should not seek sound for the ears but rather light to the heart' (*'non queramus sonum auris sed lumen cordis'*).⁴⁴ The singers in this period only ever perceived the words together with their melody. In contrast to later sequences, the texts of liturgical poetry in the ninth and tenth centuries insist on the essential importance of singing, and singing in one voice, *una voce*. Singing became a way of lifting up the mind, a way for human singers to join the celestial choirs and sing together with the angels. In singing, the concordance between heart and mouth could lead the participants to a deeper, divine experience so that the humble heart, prepared through compunction, could sing in harmony with the voice. A central function of these texts was to express the inexpressible, to pronounce in words what no word could describe. Since the ineffable God can never be described by means of words, the wordless melisma of jubilation, the *iubilus*, had the important function of expressing joy in God. This concept leads to the paradoxical result that the wordless melisma of *Alleluia* initially became the basis for one of the most extensive medieval poetic genres, that of the early sequence, or prose.⁴⁵

The forms of versification and metres change; the sound of each syllable becomes important; each vowel is pronounced in the singing, and the use of elision—so important in classical poetry—becomes uninteresting. On the other hand, the need to obtain a specific final vowel often makes the author break the grammatical rules, for instance by treating a neuter plural as a feminine singular in order to end the line

⁴³ *Regula Benedicti*, 19. 3–7: 'Ergo consideremus, qualiter oporteat in conspectu Divinitatis et angelorum eius esse; et sic stemus ad psallendum, ut mens nostra concordet voci nostra'.

⁴⁴ Smaragdus of Mihiel, PL 102, cols. 596–597.

⁴⁵ See Iversen G., 'Fictiones or figurate ornamenta? On the Concept of "Poetry" in the Period of Transition from a Monastic to a Scholastic Culture', in *Signs of Change: Transformations of Christian Traditions and their Representation in the Arts, 1000–2000*, ed. N.H. Petersen – C. Clüver – N. Bell (Amsterdam: 2004) 341–61.

in a final -a.⁴⁶ There is great differences between these early genres and most of those created in the twelfth century, when most trope genres begin to disappear, and new proses, often labelled as 'victorine' are created in the milieu of the new schools. No longer related to the Alleluia, these new texts generally function as systematic Biblical exegesis sung in connection with the Biblical readings, and are written in rhythmic, versified, and generally new regular metric forms.⁴⁷

But in the earliest sequences, it is the flow of melismas, the parallel and repeated melodic sequences, the language of the Psalter with anaphora, repetition, and textual parallelism, that more than anything influence the form of these new Latin lyrics in the ninth and tenth centuries. Let us just recall the words of Psalm 148 and observe one early Alleluia sequence.

- 1 Cantemus cuncti melodum nunc *Alleluia*.
- 2a In laudibus aeterni regis haec plebs resultet *Alleluia*.
- 2b Hoc denique caelestes chori cantant in altum *Alleluia*.
- 3a Hoc beatorum per prata paradisiaca psallat concentus *Alleluia*.
- 3b Quin et astrorum micantia luminaria iubilant altum *Alleluia*.
- 4a Nubium cursus, ventorum volatus, fulgorum coruscatio et tonitruum sonitus dulce consonent simul *Alleluia*.
- 4b Fluctus et undae imber et procellae, tempestas et serenitas, cauma, gelu, nix, pruinae, saltus, nemora pangant *Alleluia*.
- 5a Hinc, variae volucres, creatorem laudibus concinite cum *Alleluia*.
- 5b Ast illinc respondeant voces altae diversarum bestiarum *Alleluia*.
- 6a Istinc montium celsi vertices sonent *Alleluia*.
- 6b Illinc vallium profunditates saltent *Alleluia*.
- 7a Tu quoque, maris iubilans abyse, dic *Alleluia*.
- 7b Necnon terrarum molis immensitates *Alleluia*.
- 8a Nunc omne genus humanum laudans exsultet *Alleluia*.
- 8b Et creatori grates frequentans consonet *Alleluia*.
- 9a Hoc denique nomen audire iugiter delectatur *Alleluia*.
- 9b Hoc etiam carmen caeleste comprobatur ipse Christus *Alleluia*.
- 10a Nunc vos, o socii, cantate laetantes *Alleluia*.
- 10b Et vos, pueruli, respondete semper *Alleluia*.

⁴⁶ See Iversen G., "Early Sanctus Tropes: Stylistic and Linguistic Observations", *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch* 24 (1989) 185–202.

⁴⁷ On twelfth century sequences, see Fassler M., *Gothic song. Victorine Sequences and Augustinian Reform in Twelfth-Century Paris* (Cambridge: 1993); Jollès B., *Adam de Saint-Victor. Quatorze proses du XII^e siècle à la louange de Marie*, Sous la règle de Saint Augustin 1 (Turnhout:1994); Iversen G., "From iubilis to learned exegesis. New Liturgical Poetry in the Twelfth Century. The Case of Nevers", *Eloquentia et sapientia* (note 4).

- 11a Nunc omnes canite simul
Alleluia Domino, *Alleluia* Christo, Pneumatique *Alleluia*.
 11b Laus trinitati aeternae:
*Alleluia, Alleluia, Alleluia, Alleluia, Alleluia, Alleluia.*⁴⁸

The prose *Cantemus cuncti melodum* is taken here from the early repertory in Prüm, but was used equally in Echternach, Bamberg, Saint-Emmeram in Regensburg, in Monza and Benevento. It has falsely been attributed to Notker of Saint-Gall, a poet who limited himself to very few *verba canendi*, that is, verbs which express the act of singing and who never used the word *melodum*. (Besides it is not present in the earliest manuscript sources from Saint Gall.) The text clearly takes its inspiration from Psalm 148:

Alleluia !
 Laudate Dominum de caelis
 laudate eum in excelsis

 laudate eum omnes angeli eius
 laudate eum omnes virtutes eius

 laudate eum sol et luna
 laudate eum in omnes stellae et lumen
 ...
 ignis grando nix glacies
 spiritus procellarum quae faciunt verbum eius

 montes et omnes colles
 ligna fructifera et omnes cedri

⁴⁸ AH 53, 34. Paris, BnF lat 9448; See Iversen G., "Le son de la lyre des vertus. Sur la musique dans la poésie liturgique médiévale", *La musique dans la culture médiévale*, ed. O. Cullin (Paris: 2007) 47–69. Tr.: 'Now let us all sing in praise of the eternal king: *Alleluia!* / Let the people sing praises to the eternal king: *Alleluia!* / Celestial host, sing in the heights: *Alleluia!* / Choir of saints in the fields of Paradise sing: *Alleluia!* / Let the shining lights of the stars above rejoice: *Alleluia!* / Let the flying clouds, the blowing winds, the flashing lightning, the sounding thunders sing together: *Alleluia!* / Let the rivers and waves, the rain and the wind, the tempest and the calm, the heat and the ice, the snow and the hail and the frost, the forest and the wood sing: *Alleluia!* / From here let all the variety of birds sing praises to the creator: *Alleluia!* / And from there, let all the various animals loudly respond: *Alleluia!* / From here, let the high summits of the mountains resound: *Alleluia!* / From here, let the depth of the valleys answer: *Alleluia!* / And you, abysses of the sea, sing in jubilation: *Alleluia!* / And you, immense masses of the earth sing: *Alleluia!* / Let all humanity sing in praise: *Alleluia!* / And in thankfulness to the creator everywhere sing: *Alleluia!* / May it please Him to hear without end this *Alleluia!* / May Christ himself enjoy the celestial song: *Alleluia!* / Now, you, o dear brothers sing in joy *Alleluia!* / And you, dear children, keep on responding: *Alleluia!* / Now let us all together sing *Alleluia* to the Lord, *Alleluia* to Christ, and to the Holy Spirit *Alleluia!* / Praise be the eternal Trinity / *Alleluia, Alleluia! Alleluia, Alleluia! Alleluia, Alleluia!*'

bestiae et universa pecora
 serpentes et volucres pinnatae
 reges terrae et omnes populi
 principes et omnes iudices terrae
 iuvenes et virgines
 senes et iunioribus
 laudent nomen Domini!

(Ps 148, 1–3, 8–12 iuxta LXX)

In *Cantemus cuncti*, the author has created a paraphrase of the Psalm, at the same time transforming a Hebrew into a Christian song of praise, addressed in the final part to the Trinity. Just as in the Psalm the sequence is made up from parallel phrases, presented here as -a and -b strophes, sung to the same repeated melodic phrase, each pair of different length. As in the Psalm there are no rhymes, but the pairs of strophes reinforce the repetitive form and all strophes end in the exhortation to sing the holy word *Alleluia*. As in the Psalm, the author makes all creation, heaven and earth, the stars and the winds, all the animals and nature sing *Alleluia* in praise of their creator.

There is however a great difference between the two texts, in that the author of the sequence replaces the anaphorically repeated exhortation *laudate* in the Psalm by varying *verba canendi*: *cantemus, resulet, cantant, psallat, iubilant, consonent, pangant, concinite, respondeant, sonent, saltent, iubilans dic, laudans exsultet, consonet, cantate laetantes, respondete*, and finally *canite simul*. These more or less synonymous verbs rather illustrate the ambition to create variation, an ambition typical for the early sequences and tropes.

Particularly in the West-Frankish parts of the Carolingian Empire, in Lotharingia, in Aquitaine and in England, a large number of sequence texts describe the act itself of singing. The writers here develop an extremely varied vocabulary in their use of *verba canendi*. On the one hand the variations simply seem to be a wish for variety, but on the other they bear witness to a painstaking ambition to use the exact term for each of the different genres, proses, prosulas, tropes etc. Certain verbs are reserved for the jubilant modulation of melismatic prosulas and sequences expressing the *Laudes Deo*.⁴⁹ Other terms are specifically used to introduce the solemn pronunciation of the words of the

⁴⁹ On the general vocabulary of the Aquitanian sequences, see Elfving L., *Étude lexicographique des séquences limousines*, Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis, Studia Latina Stockholmiensia 7 (Stockholm: 1962).

prophets: as in the tropes to the *Introit* Chants, for instance, as we have seen above, the verbs *cantare*, *canere*, *gratulanter dicere*, *canere dicentes* are so used. Whereas St Ambrose in his hymns used a limited number of terms, such as *canere*, *cantare*, *concrepare*, *resonare*, the creators of sequences and Gloria tropes in the ninth to twelfth centuries deployed well over a hundred different verbs to express the act of singing.⁵⁰ In order to describe the sounding voices the authors of early sequences excel in varying the vocabulary. And again we can compare with the Psalms, as, for instance, the final doxology of the Psalter in Psalm 150 (iuxta LXX):

Laudate eum in sono tubae
 laudate eum in psalterio et cithara
 laudate eum in tympano et choro
 laudate eum in chordis et organo
 laudate eum in cymbalis bene sonantibus
 laudate eum in cymbalis iubilationis
 omnis spiritus laudet Dominum.

In his interpretation of Psalm 150, Amalarius of Metz states explicitly that the instrument is in the heart of the singers. They are themselves the sounding instruments: 'Our singers are not holding the cymbal, the lyre or the cithara, nor any kind of musical instruments in their hands, but in their heart. <...> The singers themselves are the trumpet, they are the psaltery, they are the tambourine, the choir, the cords, the organ and the cymbal'.⁵¹

Still, the Hebrew poetic tradition can often be mixed with the classical Greek and Latin poets in the liturgical poetry, especially in the Aquitanian repertoires. The celestial music resounding in perfect harmony with the soul is related to the harmony of the songs of the angels. The angels inspire the singers on earth, just as the Muses inspired the classical poets. So, for instance, the Muses are invoked in a famous text found in the hymnary from Moissac contemporary with the trope manuscript

⁵⁰ On 113 different "verba canendi" in tropes, sequences and hymns, see Iversen G., "Verba canendi in tropes and Sequences", in *Latin Culture in the Eleventh Century. Proceedings from the Third International Conference on Medieval Latin Studies. September 9–12 1998*, I–II, ed. M.W. Herren – C.J. McDonough – R.G. Arthur (Turnhout: 2001) I, 444–473; Iversen G., *Chanter avec les anges* (note 29) 269–296.

⁵¹ Amalarius, *Liber officialis* (note 22) 267–268: 'Nostrī cantores non tenent cymbala, neque lyram, neque cytharam manibus, neque genera musicorum, sed corde. <...> Ipsi cantores sunt tuba, ipsi psalterium, ipsi tympanum, ipsi chorus, ipsi cordae, ipsi organum, ipsi cymbala'.

cited above. The instruments in Psalm 150 are here reinforced by the muses. The parallel strophes are to be sung in alternation, just as in the Psalms, the Office—and the sequences:

- | | | | |
|----|---|----|---|
| 1a | O Muse Sicelides,
seu praestat Pierides, | 1b | Nunc ad vota faciles,
advenite celeres! |
| 2a | Si remissa displicet
vox acuta concrepet. | 2b | Quae, ne vos exasperet,
ima rursus insonet. |
| 3a | Vos alternis congaudetis
fidibus lyra
canat dulcisonis. | 3b | Si mavultis et iubetis,
modis cithara
strepat hymnidicis. [...] ⁵² |

In this text the nine Muses, daughters of Pierus, are addressed as personifications of nine forms of musical performance, *vox acuta*, *vox ima*, *lyra*, *cithara*, *barbiton*, *tympanum*, *cornicen*, *tibicen* and with the whole heart. In the verbs *concrepet*, *alternis fidibus*, *dulcisonis*, *hymnidicis* we recognize the musical vocabulary from verses and liturgical sequences of Carolingian poets, such as John Scotus Eriugena and Sedulius Scotus, cited above. The Muses are above all used in the liturgical poetry to represent the inspired musical performance of heart and voice in concordance, *omnis sonora vox musa dicitur*. On the other hand the rare epithets for the muses, as *Sicelides* and *Pierides*, bring into the text an echo from Vergil and his *Eclogues*, echoing in turn Theocritus.⁵³

In prosulas added to Alleluia verses in Aquitanian sources the authors frequently call upon the muses for assistance in singing praises to God. Thus, we read in two prosulas added to the Alleluia verse *Christus regnavit decorem induit, induit deus fortitudinem et precinxit se virtutem*:

Alleluia !

Agite nunc, movete cantilenas, musae, laetas
tonando mixta harmonia cantica.
In die ista Christi sancta
nati in terra,

⁵² AH 2, 140. Tr.: 'O Sicilian muses, o daughters of Pierus, / come now courteous and swift to assist our prayers. / If the low voice is not pleasing, may the sharp voice sound out high. / Not to make it too rough for you, let the low voice resound again. / May you joyfully play together on alternating strings on the lyre. / If you so prefer and wish, let the cithara sound out in melodious hymns'.

⁵³ Vergil, *Eclogues*, 8, 63; Horace, *Carm.*, 1, 32, 3: 'Age, dic Latinum barbite, carmen, Lesbio primum modulate civi'; See Elfving L., *Étude lexicographique des séquences limousines* (note 49) 194–197, 205–210.

Panis de caelo altissimo descendit,
*Christus regnavit...*⁵⁴

Alleluia!

Concine Clio, plectro linguae.
 Christus in die adoratur ista
 a principibus venientibus
 terra de longinqua.
*Christus regnavit...*⁵⁵

It seems then, that in spite of the exhortation pronounced by John Scotus in his poem *Hellinas Troyasque* to separate the two literary spheres, that of the Classical Greek and Latin poets, and that of the Christian poets, they evidently coexisted in the minds of the Medieval authors of liturgical poetry and this mixed heritage was being reflected even in the Chants of the Roman mass. Still, the song of the muses, *Mousarum cantus*, in the poem of John Scotus Eriugena obviously fill other functions in the new liturgical poetry in the ninth and tenth century, as inspiration to sing *Alleluia* in performing the praises to God in the most mellifluous way.

Concluding Remarks

In the process of the appropriation of medieval Latin literature in the ninth to eleventh centuries, important areas were those of the new literary and musical genres cultivated for liturgical use, such as *versus ad sequentias*, proses, and tropes, and those representational texts subsumed under the modern category of liturgical drama. These are all poetic genres performed in singing within the framework of a liturgical celebration. The relation between music and text, between melody and words, is developed in new ways in each of these genres and colours the verbal form of the texts. Characteristic to these dif-

⁵⁴ Wolfenbüttel, Cod. Guelf 79 Gud. lat. fol. 0v. (hoc: nec ms); CT VI (note 32) 36–37; Elfving L., *Étude lexicographique* (note 49) 194–196; Spanke H., *Beziehungen zwischen romanischer und mittellateinischer Lyrik mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Metrik und Musik* (Berlin: 1936) 79–80. Tr.: ‘Now, let sound joyful melodies, o muses, / by playing the songs in mixed harmony. / In this day of the new born Christ on earth / the Bread descended from the heights of heaven’.

⁵⁵ Wolfenbüttel, Cod. Guelf 79 Gud. lat. fol. 1; CT VI (note 32) 37. Tr.: ‘Play, O Clio, with the plectrum of the tongue. / Christ was adored on this day / by the princes coming from afar’.

ferent kinds of liturgical poetry is that they consist of several layers of text in intricate interaction. The manuscript sources generally reflect a great variety of literary and liturgical customs, and give new insights into the intellectual, theological thinking and artistic creativity in the period. The authors in this strong hermeneutic tradition in creating new texts for liturgical use, as well as for other festive occasions were clearly influenced by the fact that they lived in a fruitful tension between two parallel—and opposite—literary traditions, one based on classical Latin literature and the other, the younger Christian tradition, on Hebrew and Greek Scripture.

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CHAPTER SEVEN

LATIN CULTURE AND ORIENTAL WISDOM

PASCALE BOURGAIN

In the course of centuries, Latin culture assimilated the timeless wisdom of oriental tales, adjoining them to its own heritage of fables and apologues. To be sure nothing is more of a wanderer than a good reflective story, and the migrations of narrative motifs and themes through civilizations are a rich and well exploited field of inquiry. Nevertheless, Latin in medieval times was a *sine qua non*, an all but compulsory passage between originals and the various vernacular languages. From the Latin used for tales, often a current Latin, simple and easy to transpose into whatever local current language, narrative themes and motifs circulated throughout the West.

This is a well trodden path and a well known story. The point here is not to tell it again, not to consider the ways by which an acquaintance with the various Indian, Persian, Arabic and Hebrew tales came into the Latin world, chiefly during and after the XIIth century, nor to look at the oral transmission or the characteristics of the various adaptations.¹ We propose rather to look at the added value, that is to say what the adaptors thought proper to add to the original matter in order to appropriate it to themselves and assimilate it to their own cultural codes.

The philosophical collection enriched with aphorisms and apologues does not appear in classical Latin literature. In the Arab and Jewish cultures is found a type of collection which is philosophical or at least sapiential (at any rate didactic, hence the Hebrew name “musar”, discipline). It rests on an organization of neoplatonic or Talmudic type, and is studded with maxims, *sententiae*, aphorisms and tales, more or less

¹ See Marsan R.A., *L'itinéraire espagnol du conte médiéval (VIII^e au XV^e siècle)* (Paris: 1974); Zimmermann A. (ed.), *Orientalische Kultur und europäische Mittelalters* (Berlin-New York: 1985), notably Stohlmann J., “Orient-Motive in der lateinischen Exempla-Literatur des 12- und 13- Jahrhunderts”, pp. 123–150, and Riet S. van, “Les fables arabes d'Ibn al-Muqaffa en traductions franques et latines”, pp. 151–160.

loosely woven together. This type of “treasury of wisdom” is apparently lacking in the Latin West. Here the philosophical poems, either the Boetian *prosimetrum* or the XIIth-century philosophical allegories of neoplatonic inspiration, tell only one story. At any rate, the men who, from a different cultural area, came into the field of western Christianity sometimes seem to feel that something is lacking, and try to insert into the Latin sphere the tradition of the philosophical collection.

Such is the case of the Spanish physician Petrus Alphonsi, a Jewish convert, who between his conversion in 1106 and his death in England in 1110 translated into Latin a philosophical collection with tales that he had probably himself previously written, in Hebrew, and which interwove reasoning and *exempla*.²

Such is the case too for John of Capua, author in 1280 of the *Directorium humanae vitae*, the first Latin adaptation of the Sindibar collection, also called Kalilah and Dimna.³ These two Jewish converts give us the clearest view of their motive drive. In the Latin and Christian culture to which they adhere, they feel that something is lacking. Both believe that theirs is a useful task. John of Capua is especially clear about the usefulness of this text that exists in the Hebrew language, and will be most expedient ‘in eruditionem christianorum consortii’. The advantage lies in the fact that this book will bring something for everybody, learned or ignorant: the fool, the sage, and the child will equally find benefit in it, for as it entertains while speaking of everything, no other book is necessary to anyone able to meditate upon it.⁴ It is a kingly

² Hilka A. (ed.) with W. Söderhjelm, *Die Disciplina Clericalis des Petrus Alfonsi: das älteste Novellenbuch des Mittelalters*, Sammlung mittellateinischer Texte 1 (Heidelberg: 1911), the text of which is reproduced in all the subsequent editions-cum-translations. Marsan R.A., *L'itinéraire espagnol* (note 1) 150–154. The edition with translation of Jacqueline-Lise Genot-Bismuth, *Moïse le Séfaraïde alias Pierre d'Alphonse, La Discipline de clergie, Disciplina clericalis. Texte latin, traduction nouvelle et notes* (Paris-Saint-Petersburg: 2001), only reproduces (with typographic errors!) the Hilka edition. The translation is not wholly reliable. The introduction on the other hand sets the work in the context of the cultural Hebrew tradition.

³ Hervieux L. (ed.), *Les fabulistes latins, depuis le siècle d'Auguste jusqu'à la fin du Moyen Âge*, t. 5 (Paris: 1899), pp. 3–337. The work stems from the Hindi *Pantchatantra*. On its medieval posterity see Batany J., “La cour du lion. Autour du *Pantchatantra* et du Jugement de Renard”, in *Épopée animale, fable et fabliau = Marche romane* 28 (1978) 17–25.

⁴ ‘Pro sapientibus et insulis hic liber factus est’, at the end of the dedication of John of Capua to the cardinal Matteo Orsini. Adaptation from the Arabic, Hervieux L. (ed.), *Les fabulistes latins* (note 3) 80: ‘Est autem liber delectabilis, verbis doctrine et preciosis sermonibus plenus, quem aptaverunt sapientes nationum mundi, qui sua verba sapientie, scientie ac doctrine manifestare voluerunt...Fecerunt autem ipsum

book, sufficient for a prince's education, a book of life since it brings wisdom. Even taking account of the grand claims already made boastfully in the original, the idea of an education on two levels, from the pleasure of the account and from the ethical foundation and meaning, is clearly pointed out. John of Capua, without christianizing the narrative, nevertheless considers that the work as it stands can be useful to Latin Christendom.

The titles these writers give to their translations reveal their philosophical ambition: *Disciplina clericalis*, or the formation of intellectuals, *Directorium humanae vitae*, or how a man has to manage his own life. However it is not clear to what extent Latin readers, perhaps disconcerted, really understood the globality of the proceeding. More familiar with collections of fables, a genre abundantly cultivated in Greek which had made its way into the Latin West, generally in the form of poetry, they surely discerned the didactic and gnomic value. As a matter of fact, even if they tended to perceive more directly the anecdote and its signification, no Latin manuscript survives with only the tales, without the framework that surrounds them.⁵

The Latin adaptors of oriental collections were in any case clearly seduced, since they chose to translate them; however, the originality and proper aim of these collections perhaps escaped them. They knew the Greek collections of animal fables, in the Latin form established by the fabulist Phaedrus,⁶ and the Sindibar too brings in talking animals.⁷ They

propter tria. Primum quidem, ut adinvenirent causam per quam suam sapientiam universis hominibus promulgaverunt. Aliud vero, quia iste liber est ad scientiam et ludum. Addiscet enim sapiens propter sapientiam que in ipso est, stultus vero ad ludum et solacium. Tercium vero, quoniam pueri et qui delectantur audire parabolas et verba puerilia gaudebunt addiscentes ipsum'. Ibid. p. 88: 'Quicumque igitur studet in hoc libro, meditetur in isto capitulo ut intelligat istud, quoniam qui novit quod continetur in eo, non indiget alio libro'.

⁵ With some exceptions for late poetical rewriting: the verse adaptations of the *Disciplina clericalis*, imitating the poetic fable collections, contain only the narratives.

⁶ See Kaczynski B.M. – Westra H.J., "Aesop in the Middle Ages", *Mittellateinische Jahrbuch* 17 (1982) 31–38; Bertini F., "Gli animali nella favolistica medioevale del Romulus al secolo XII", in *L'uomo di fronte al mondo animale nell'alto medioevo* (Spoleto: 1985) 1049–1051; Mann J., "La favolistica latina", in *Aspetti della letteratura latina nel secolo XIII*, ed. C. Leonardi – G. Orlandi (Perugia-Firenze: 1986) 193–219.

⁷ Adrados F.R., "The early influence of Indian fable on medieval Latin writing", *Classica et medievalia* 35 (1984) 243–263, is chiefly interested in Latin and Spanish precursors of the *Roman de Renard*, as Gupta R.C., "Indian parallels of the fox story", in *Aspects of the medieval animal epic*, ed. E. Rombauts – A. Welkenhuysen (Leuven-The Hague: 1975) 241–249. See more generally Ziolkowski J.M., *Talking animals. Medieval Latin Beast Poetry, 750–1150* (Philadelphia: 1993).

were accustomed to drawing a teaching out of these fables; besides, a tale without a morality, endword or appeal to a meaning practically never existed, in any tradition. Their translations inevitably, sometimes quite consciously, seek to assimilate the new material to the Latin mindset.

The spread of oriental tales in the Latin language coincides with the development of the pure narrative art, in the course of the XIIth century, and with the development of the edifying story to be used in predication, the *exemplum*, gathered in separate collections or inserted into a dogmatic outline (*Tractatus de diversis materiis predicabilibus* of Etienne de Bourbon), in the XIIIth century; it is worthy of note that in the Latin area the outline may be methodical or dogmatic, but is never narrative, which remains a specificity of oriental collections. The *exempla* inserted into sermons or gathered in methodically planned collections thrust narrations into a didactic fabric, as does the *Disciplina clericalis* of Petrus Alphonsi, whereas the oriental collections of the "discipline" type insert moral teachings into a narrative weave. The accomplished type, exemplified by the story of the Seven Sages, plays with the episodic structure ("à tiroirs"), inserting independent tales into a wider narration, at the point where protagonists need advice to make up their mind. Helping someone to make up his mind is one of the first aims of Greco-Latin rhetoric, and the use of apologues is equally part of it; but the result is quite different.

Now as the adaptations of oriental collections succeed each other,⁸ one can see the evolution from the short, linear, emblematic tale, where everything has to signify, to the novel, more psychologically founded, where narration for its own sake eventually becomes more important than the inherent teaching.⁹ Appropriating the narrative themes, the writers now have a tendency to transform them into something more useful or pleasant in their own eyes.

⁸ Summary chronology: 1106–1110, Petrus Alphonsi; first translation of *Les sept sages*, 1st half XIIth century; version of Jean de Hauteuille, 1184, almost at the same time as the Latin chivalry stories, the tales of Walter Map and the *Pantheon* of Godfried of Viterbo; Jean de Capoue, circa 1280; Raymond de Béziers, 1305–1315, and soon after his "remanieur".

⁹ This evolution can be seen in the novels of Walter Map and by the anonymous imitator of Petronius, whose novels were edited by Marvin Colker. In the same way, in the *Historia infidelis mulieris* edited in Schönbach A.E., "Studien zur Erzählliteratur des Mittelalters (5)", *Sitzungsberichte der philosophisch-historischen Classe der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften* (1903) 1–280, the knight bears a very determinate name, Rodolph von Slüsselberg, whereas his wife and children remain anonymous; the account comes to be much like a novel, grows longer and more diversified.

Roughly translated, these texts have a perceptible flavour of exoticism. The social intercourse, the ways of living differ somewhat from those of the native Western tales, the rhetoric of persuasion is unlike that of the classical Latin tradition. This strangeness may appear attractive, and be maintained, along with the proper names of persons and places, evoking a far-distant scene: or it may be disturbing, and then provoke an adaptation which is really an assimilation, a denial of distance. One finds therefore in these adaptations the same divergence as in the attitudes towards ancient culture: the remoteness in time and the cultural discrepancy may be complacently underlined, or attenuated by deliberate anachronisms.

Moreover these tales, sprung from very ancient stories, reflect a not only exotic but still archaic world. For example, most of the older tales, whatever their place of origin, refer to a society where writing is not widespread. In some cases, the account becomes difficult to understand. Thus in the story of the Seven Sages: the nearest versions to the oriental forms, such as the first Latin translation, probably taken from the Hebrew (*Mischle Sendebär*) in the first half of XIIth century,¹⁰ keep the oriental name of the young prince's tutor, Sindibar; who, about to send the child back to his father, sees in the stars that the prince will incur great danger if he speaks during the next seven days. At court, the prince keeps silent, even when the king's new wife, whom he has rejected and who wants revenge, charges him with trying to violate her, and the king is about to kill him. In the adaptation of John of Altasilva (Hauteseille), to which we will soon turn, the tutor becomes Vergil, who has made the prince a paragon of every science.¹¹ The prince, Lucinius, is as good a magician as his master; he reads the future in the book of Vergil, and when his servants going back to his father see him speechless and feel disturbed, he tells them in writing to keep quiet. But if he can write, as he writes even to his father, without breaking his oath of silence, why does he not write the truth when for seven days his father sends him daily to the stake where he has to be burned? This abstention, retained from the primitive scheme, is quite incompatible with the highly

¹⁰ Hilka A. (ed.), *Historia sapientum I, Eine bisher unbekannte lateinische Übersetzung einer orientalischen Fassung der Sieben Weissen Meister (Mischle Sendabar)*, Sammlung mittellateinischer Texte 4 (Heidelberg: 1912).

¹¹ Hilka A. (ed.), *Historia sapientum II. Johannis de Altasilva Dolopathos, sive de Rege et septem sapientibus*, Sammlung mittellateinischer Texte 5 (Heidelberg: 1913).

literate status with which he has been endowed. A culture of the written complicates the narration and overthrows verisimilitude.¹²

Among the different versions of the Seven Sages story, almost as numerous in Latin, French,¹³ Spanish, Italian¹⁴ and English as in the different Indian, Greek, Syrian, Hebrew, Persian and Arabic versions,¹⁵ the more wide-spread examples transform even the title: the seven sages become the seven sages of Rome. The *incipit* in itself is significant: 'Poncianus in urbe Roma regnavit, prudens valde, qui uxorem filiam regis Romanorum...' ¹⁶ Pontianus becomes Diocletian in one of the four versions of this adaptation, widespread in German countries, and preserved in sixty manuscripts at least.¹⁷ This is the version whence derive the English¹⁸ and Spanish translations. It is difficult to date, except that it is prior to the *Gesta Romanorum* which borrow from it, and that it presents for each story a moralization in the form of a *reductio*, which cannot be anterior to the XIIIth century. The seven sages of Rome are probably a parallel to the seven sages of Greece, well

¹² To tell the truth, John of Altasilva, contemporary of Walter Map, is quite as trifling as him on the point of verisimilitude. He does not assert that he has seen what he relates, but only heard of it, and he tells his tale for the pleasure and the utility, for it is at least as plausible as the Plagues of Egypt or the enchantress Circe, hence the present stories too can only be accepted; at any rate he compels no one to read them. The refinements of the narration, the very conscious sophistication of this little romance place it in a very different light from the short apologues of the *Disciplina clericalis* or even the preceding versions of the Seven Sages, older by fifty years or less.

¹³ Comparetti D., *Ricerche intorno al libro di Sindibad* (Milan: 1869); Paris G., *Deux rédactions du Roman des sept Sages* (Paris: 1876); Krappe A.H., "Studies on the Seven Sages of Rome", *Archivum Romanicum* 8 (1924) 386–407; 9 (1925) 345–369; 11 (1927) 163–176; 16 (1932) 271–282; Gilleland B.B., "The French and Latin versions of the Historia septem sapientum", *Classica et medievalia* 33 (1981–82) 229–237. The French adaptations derive either from the archaic version in which the prince is educated by the seven wise men (in verse *Le romans des sept sages*, ed. A. Keller (Tübingen: 1836); in prose, ed. G. Paris, (Paris: 1876)), or from John of Altasilva (*Dolopathos* of Herbert). There is also a version inserted into the *Scala celi* of the Dominican John Gobi.

¹⁴ Mussafia, in *Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akad. phil. hist. Klasse* 57 (1867) 92.

¹⁵ Comparetti D., *Ricerche intorno al libro di Sindibad* (Milan: 1869); Schmidt H., *Neue Beiträge zur Geschichte der Sieben Weisen Meister* (Cologne: 1928).

¹⁶ Ms. Paris, BnF lat. 8506, one of the few French manuscripts. In a similar manner a collection of tales picked out from everywhere, with their moralisation (XIVth century), is called *Gesta Romanorum* putting the scene vaguely under the emperors of the beginning of our era, during the christianization.

¹⁷ Roth D. (ed.), *Historia septem sapientum: Überlieferung und textgeschichtliche Edition*, 2 vols. (Tübingen: 2004).

¹⁸ Campbell K., *The Seven Sages of Rome* (Boston: 1975); Gilleland B.B., *The Seven Sages of Rome. The southern Version* (2002).

known through the medium of Cicero and Saint Augustine.¹⁹ Rome must have its seven sages as had Greece, and the oriental story is most evidently latinized.

In the same way John of Altasilva (Hauteseille near Nancy), circa 1184, weakens the exotic look and transforms the king, henceforth named Dolopathos, into a king of Sicily and brother-in-law of the emperor Augustus. Vergil, to whom he intrusts the education of his son Lucinius, has therefore to come from Rome to Sicily, and the judgement scenes occur in Palermo. Lucinius will convert to Christianity in the reign of Tiberius; the story then comes to an end, after a full catechism, with his christening. Here then we have historicization, set in a specific period of time, and christianization, exactly as the Barlaam and Josaphat collection had been christianized (much earlier, before reaching the Latin world).

A still more momentous transformation consists in superimposing oriental and Latin science and wisdom (*sapientia* being an indecipherable compound of science and wisdom, supposed to have equal status). In this case, the rough text of the translation is latinized at the cultural level. Just as Christian culture had assimilated the gnomic and ethical tradition of antiquity, either asserting that it had been inspired by Moses' and Solomon's wisdom, i.e. the older books of the Bible, or claiming that it was licit to take their riches from the pagans, as it was allowed by Deuteronomy to take the wives of the Gentiles provided they cut their nails and hair, so by the same token the translators, whenever their source presents them with an appealing maxim, *sententia* or aphorism, seek an equivalent in their own cultural stock, which shows the unity of human mind and of its quest for wisdom (the etymology for 'philosophy'). Theirs is a voluntary and even ostentatious syncretism. Those whom the collections translated from the Arabic or Hebrew call *antiqui sapientes* (John of Capua, *Directorium*)²⁰ or *antiqui philosophi* (Raimond of Béziers)²¹ invincibly remind us of the philosophers of classical antiquity. To adduce their testimony is to reconstitute a global treasury of wisdom and learning.

¹⁹ See Crossland J., "Dolopathos and the Seven Sages of Rome", *Viator* 25 (1956) 1–12.

²⁰ 'Hic est liber parabolarum antiquorum sapientum nationum mundi', beginning of the translation of John of Capua, Hervieux L. (ed.), *Les fabulistes latins* (note 3) 80.

²¹ *Antiqui philosophi, profunda scientie perscrutantes*, *ibid.* p. 405.

Arabic and Hebrew writers held up their text as a global work, sufficient of itself to improve the mind. This claim is inadmissible for a western thinker, who feels the need for some of his own cultural luggage. But if he completes the foreign learning with the Latin, he restores a process of *sapientia* that inherits the whole of secular wisdom: ancient, oriental and Christian. The oriental *liber regius* will become a convincing 'mirror of princes' only if he suffuses it with the treasures of Latin culture. Maxims, distichs, *excerpta*, the whole of gnomic literature is thus pressed into service, used to comment and gloss the various stories, and form again a 'treasury of wisdom' around these far-fetched tales, which thus keeping their cohesive value, are not allowed to part one from another, and are integrated into Latin gnomic wisdom, at once ancient and Christian. Which is much better, as Raimond of Béziers says, than the books in the courtly fashion, which tell of Lancelot or Gawain, 'libros quibus nulla constitit scientia, vel modica viget utilitas': these courteous romances in vernacular language where, serious author as he is, he sees only the straw of vanity in place of the corn of virtues.²²

We have then to try and analyse the content and method of these 'farcissures', of these additions to the primitive texts. This is somewhat toilsome, considering the huge number of these aphorisms, whether or not they can be identified by way of collections of proverbs or databanks, for the editions of these texts are generally rather poor as to identification, by dint of the bulk of references.

Petrus Alphonsi, the first of these adaptors, quotes chiefly from the Bible, remembering rather the Hebrew text that he knows from childhood, but this is another question. He also quotes many philosophers, without naming them, generically: 'the philosopher tells...another says...another...', introducing gnomic *sententiae*. When the maxim is adaptated from Arabic, he introduces it with *dicit Arabus*... He also quotes verses, always dactylic, introduced by the formula *dicit* or *sicut dicit versificator*. The longest of these poems, concerning death, is identified by Hans Walther in three manuscripts, the oldest of which dates from the XIIth century.²³ Nothing impedes its having passed from

²² 'librum istum regium virtutum graniferum'. See Hervieux L. (ed.), *Les fabulistes latins* (note 3) 387–88.

²³ *Tu prope qui transis nec dicis aveto*, ch. 32 p. 48. Walther H., *Carmina medii aevi posterioris latina. I. Initia carminum et versuum medii aevi posterioris latinorum. Alphabetische Verzeichnis*... (Göttingen: 1959), n° 19501.

the *Disciplina clericalis* to the collections abstracted by Hans Walther. It is, however, not very probable that Petrus Alphonsi composed it, for in spite of his great learning and his mastery of Arabic and biblical Hebrew, he did not study under a Latin *grammaticus*, and when in telling his tales he speaks of a poet lamenting his own poverty, he introduces the adaptation that he makes, in prose, of this poem surely composed in Arabic or Hebrew with these words: 'versus composuit talem sensum presentantes'. Almost all the quoted verses, hexameters or elegiac distichs, have death as their subject.²⁴ There are few of them. It would seem that Petrus Alphonsi had at hand a collection of epitaphs or mortuary verses, or perhaps a roll of the dead, when he was writing the end of his treatise, and that he integrated some pieces from it, in the same manner as the Biblical or 'wisdom of peoples' aphorisms that he also accumulates. If these Latin verses are not from his pen, as it most likely, then he is the first to have completed, however discretely, the Levantine wisdom of which he is the heir, with some Latin complements.

This process of accumulation is still more apparent in the Seven Sages story (Sendibar *et al.*) and in Kalilah and Dimna, where there occur three stages of transformation. For the first, among a great number of versions, there remain 1) a Latin adaptation preserved in one manuscript, with twenty-one very sketchily treated stories; 2) a romanization-christianization, *Story of the Seven Sages of Rome*, with fifteen stories; and 3) a rewriting, from another version, by John de Altasilva, circa 1184. For Kalilah and Dimna remain 1) the translation from the Hebrew circa 1280 by John of Capua, which adds nothing to the Hebrew *Mischle Sendebār*; 2) the translation, ostensibly from Spanish, but in fact mostly from John of Capua, by the Occitan physician Raymond of Béziers in 1304–1313; and 3) an enlarged revisiting of the latter, which according to L. Hervieux is not the work of Raymond of Béziers, but of a cleric who reworks it rather clumsily.

For the story of the Seven Sages, we will leave to one side the first version of twenty-one tales, probably from the beginning of the XIIth century,²⁵ which remains brief and doubtless departs little from the

²⁴ Hilka A. (ed.), *Die Disciplina Clericalis* (note 2) 7, l. 33; poems on death, pp. 43, 45, 48.

²⁵ The only manuscript, Berlin, lat. qu. 618, dates from 1407, but the French adaptations date from circa 1150; the linearity, the thrifty and emblematic mood are very near those of Petrus Alphonsi.

original. The fifteen-stories romanization, *Historia septem sapientum urbis Romae*, widely distributed,²⁶ rests on a system of ‘tale and relentless moralization’ and does not correspond to the Arabo-Judaic process, but to the manner of XIIIth and rather XIVth-century moralizations, the *Ovid Moralized* or *Gesta Romanorum*. The fairly strong christianization, by means of the *reductiones* or returns to the essential point, as the moralizations are called, matches with exclusively biblical reminiscences. There is no effort in the direction of a literary osmosis: it is in fact a collection of *exempla*, which inherits from its starting point the dramatization of the narrative framework, but profoundly transforms it, in consequence of a cultural atmosphere henceforth hostile to allusion and the implicit, and in favour of relentless allegorical explanation.

But somewhat earlier John of Altasilva, a highly learned Cistercian from Lorraine, has behaved very differently. A contemporary of Walter Map and of the author of the novels inspired by Petronius,²⁷ and like him trifling with his subject-matter and humorously distancing himself from it, he transforms an account which perhaps came to him by other ways (in fact there are only eight tales, seven in the mouth of each of the seven Sages and one from Vergil: much fewer than in the primitive version, and few of those identical) into a little romance at once sophisticated, learned, very ovidian in its descriptions of the depths of the female soul—but the queen tells no tale, therefore does not possess wisdom.²⁸ The verses are skilfully inserted, sometimes introduced with “as the poet tells”; they brighten up and illustrate the description. They are mainly citations from Horace and Vergil, less often from Ovid, sometimes from Lucan and Juvenal, but not always maxims and *sententiae*: he also uses descriptions of feelings and attitudes taken from the more famous passages of the classical poets, without seeking to display originality. The allusions to ancient mythological characters are in accordance with the relocalization to Vergil’s day, and also with the contemporary literary fashion as can be seen in Walter Map for exemple. Mythological periphrases, to tell the time for example, appear sometimes so exaggerated that they could be taken as ironic imitations. Moreover the citations are not ostentatiously numerous, they come in

²⁶ Roth D. (ed.), *Historia* (note 17).

²⁷ Colker M. (ed.), *Analecta Dublinensia. Three medieval Latin texts in the library of Trinity College Dublin* (Cambridge (Mass.): 1975).

²⁸ Which Foehr-Janssens Y. – Métry E. (ed. & transl.), *Dolopathos, ou: Le roi et les sept sages* (Turnhout: 2000) 16 considers to be a clerical reappropriation.

timely fashion to express gestures and behaviours, or the pith of the situation. The Sibyl's prophecy, cited by Augustine, the passages of Vergil and Horace generally considered as prophecies, are introduced at the necessary point. The authors are not named except in these cases: to avoid pedantry, John simply sets their words in the sentence, or is content with the slightest indication (*quidam ex nostris*, to designate a Christian author).²⁹ The unidentified citations use current *juncturae* (e.g. *solvitur in risum* which comes from Maximian, III, 65). Once only does he insert an extract from rhythmic verse: *Sic varium—Fortune ludibrium—dat tribunal*...nearest to the poem conserved in *Carmina burana*, n° 14. The Cistercians were inveterate makers of *florilegia*; but amidst this global rewriting, this dusting of citations has no savour of *florilegium*, only of stylization. John of Altasilva participates fully in the transformation of narrative literature at the end of XIIth century, he is a relative of Walter Map, for his queen has some features of the equally enamoured and equally vexed queen of the novel 'Sadius and Galo'.

In keeping with his easy and playful tone, John of Altasilva does not take seriously the sapiential ambitions of his model (but he is so far from the other versions called 'oriental', with their twenty-one stories, that one wonders if he does not depend on an oral transmission; unless he voluntarily replaces the Indian tales by folkloric or classical legends). Nevertheless, combining his canvas with the legend of Vergil the magician and scholar,³⁰ he makes of it a glorification of culture, a quest for truth by way of reasoning. The education of Lucinius, 'the Luminous', followed by his conversion to Christianity at the end of the romance, added to Vergil's omniscience, all set the episode in an atmosphere of the highest culture, where the stakes—the life or death of Lucinius—is akin to a quest for the truth about oneself. In this sense the conversion of Lucinius, which ends the novel, appears to be the conclusion of a search for self-control, reason and knowledge. As regards literature, culture and religion, John of Altasilva latinizes his theme from the outset: he makes of it an artefact in which can be shown the application of much good precepts from the contemporary poetical arts, but moreover chiefly an ironical approach to the fabulous and the probable. And he carefully removes any exoticism, in the inserted tales

²⁹ About *Sum quod eram, nec eram quod sum, modo factus utrumque*, which, he says, applies to Christ, Foehr-Janssens, (note 28) 220.

³⁰ See Comparetti D., *Virgilio nel Medioevo* (Livorno: 1902), and *Lectures médiévales de Virgile* (Roma: 1985).

as much as in the narrative framework. He mainly retains a narrative scheme, which he adapts to a modern taste and latinate climate. In fact he obviates the oriental stamp.

As to the Sindibar or Kalilah and Dimna, John of Capua, as we have seen, believes in the intrinsic value of the collection he is translating, and hardly modifies it. Unlike Petrus Alphonsi, he has had no access, so it appears, to traditional Latin literature, or he did not think necessary the transposition begun by his predecessor. Very different is the approach of the Languedocian physician Raymond of Béziers. Having undertaken the translation of the Spanish version for the queen of France, and in fact barely knowing Spanish, he is satisfied, according to Leopold Hervieux, with rewriting the Latin translation of John of Capua, conserving proper names as they appear in the Spanish version. As for the sense, he christianizes more than John of Capua; for example, when the opportunity occurs, he adds discourses on predestination (ch. 17). The wise man, here the physician Berosias, looks more and more like a monk.

His work was taken up by an adaptor who doubled its length, to insert teachings about the Christian faith (theological virtues, deadly sins and so on), apologues, hymns, and citations of every kind, verse and prose. Besides, in the only surviving manuscript,³¹ the additional poetic citations are rubricated, so that the colour, like the line setting (rather unfortunate, for the verses are a bit too long for the text columns provided), makes evident the bipolarity of the whole. Every aphorism of the basic text, when the moral teaching appears, is doubled by citations from classical or even medieval prose or verse, and the ink colour distinguishes what is oriental from what is Latin.

Moreover nothing is done to smooth the impression of juxtaposition. The insertions are most of the time obtrusive, even brutally forced into the text. Announced by ready-made formulas, most often *juxta illud*, then *unde versus* and more rarely *unde verbum* for prose, or again the variants of the *dicitur* formula, which introduces chiefly passages of the Bible: *unde dicitur*, *et dicitur*, *quia dicitur*, they occur, normally,

³¹ L. Hervieux has established that this copy [Paris, BnF, lat. 8504] is definitely not the presentation copy of Raymond of Béziers to Philip IV Augustus. But it is possible that this one, known only by its late copy [lat. 8505] disappeared because the other, expanded version was preferred: the miniatures of the beginning, that represent the king and his family, are not original; better executed than the remainder of the manuscript, they were cut from another exemplar, perhaps the original henceforth mutilated and endangered, and were pasted in place.

after the aphorisms of oriental wisdom, but too randomly in the narration, the movement and vivacity of which they sometimes blur beyond remedy. Thus a digression about greed, supported by four verses from Martial, is inserted into a dialogue between wife and husband;³² or a distich from the *Tristia* is forced into the middle of a phrase: who has no riches has no friends, no parents, no children (and here is inserted the distich on friends who follow wealth), and who has no child has no memory, who has no memory has no understanding, and so on...³³ Either the interpolator simply followed his association of ideas, without troubling about their just place, or he wanted to prevent others from too easily detecting his additions to the original text and taking them out again. But one cannot neglect the hypothesis that the manuscript reflects a reworked model, with marginal additions to be inserted, which sometimes were not put in the right place.

Besides the numerous biblical citations and notably those from the Ecclesiastic, the culture so conveyed is clearly at one with the many collections of extracts and commonplace-books that survive. Part of the material is ancient, and is sometimes announced with the authority's name: Seneca, identified or not, is the most frequent, followed by Ovid, Martial and a little less often Horace. Still more common, "Cato" (i.e. the *Disticha Catonis*) is rarely announced but in fact is raided at every turn. Among the medieval citations, the author literally plundered the *Anticlaudianus* of Alan of Lille, putting into the mouth of Berosias, the counterpart of the Berzouyeh of his model, some two hundred verses lifted from book V, on God, the Virgin and paradise;³⁴ he was fond of the fabulists Walter the Englishman and Baldus, of *Pamphilus de amore*, and of the *Alexandreid* of Walter von Chatillon, which he resolutely used as a classic. Among the unidentified verse pieces, often in leonine verses, conforming to the contemporary taste, a part only

³² Hervieux L. (ed.), *Les fabulistes latins* (note 3) 544.

³³ Hervieux L. (ed.), *Les fabulistes latins* (note 3) 548: '...qui non habet divicias fratres non habet, et qui non habet fratres non habet genus, et qui non habet genus non habet prolem—"Cum fueris felix, multos numerabis amicos / Tempora si fuerint nubila, solus eris"—et qui non habet prolem non habet memoriam, et qui non habet memoriam non habet intellectum, non habet hoc seculum, nec futurum, nec principium, neque finem'. Other examples, pp. 556, 574 (where the insertion comes between a substantive and the genitive that depends on it), p. 664.

³⁴ *Anticlaudianus*, V, 279–306, 377–407, 408–487 et 488–544; *Kalila et Dimna*, ed. L. Hervieux, pp. 433–437 (not identified).

can be identified in the collections of Hans Walther;³⁵ some are noted as very widespread, others, rarer, were picked up by Walther from this very text. Visibly the interpolator used a collection, thematic or not, from which he retained pell-mell everything of interest to him. Perhaps he also used some chapters of the *florilegium* of Vincent of Beauvais.

Unfortunately he was not really successful. But this work, contemporary with the *Divine Comedy*, aspires after all to be a work of the same type: complete in its quest for a global learning, responding to essential questions of universal concern, sometimes in visionary manner, ambitious both culturally and spiritually, and for the sake of this using a narrative canvas in which are inserted linked accounts: the lives of diverse deceased persons met by Dante, demonstrative tales in the Persian collection. This comparison with a genius of universal literature is cruel for the author of this work, disfigured as it is by continuous incidental clauses and moral discourses. His was a failed attempt.

Awkward, delusive in many respects, the work of the rewriter nevertheless turns back to the design of the first redactors, Persians, Arabs and Hebrews: from this collection of animal tales he wishes to make a comprehensive treasury of learning, such as would be useful in his time and his environment. Here is patent the striving towards syncretism, which is not content with incorporating constituents into the narrative material, but seeks to show the deep harmony and complementarity of two cultures.

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³⁵ Walther H., *Initia* (note 23) and Id., *Carmina medii aevi posterioris latina. II. Proverbia sententiaeque latinitatis medii aevi...*, 6 vols. (Göttingen: 1963–1969).

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PART III

LINGUISTICS & STYLISTICS

CHAPTER EIGHT

IS THERE SUCH A THING AS A LATIN EPOCHAL STYLE?*

WALTER BERSCHIN

When looking at Latin script, language and literature and the classical tradition as a whole, one cannot disregard the Carolingian era, which in all four domains can be considered an epoch in the sense of a ‘turn-over’. Around 780 A.D., either in Corbie under abbot Maurdrumnus¹ or at the court in Aachen,² the script was invented which since the Baroque we have called the ‘Carolingian (or Caroline) minuscule’.³ This script can be deemed the most successful creation of the Carolingian era. From 787 onwards, Charlemagne’s cultural decrees are published, which insist on the use of a grammatically restrained and controlled Latin.⁴ Very soon the collection of the *Grammatici latini* became a typical work of the Carolingian school. ‘Three-fourths of all of Roman and early medieval literature on that subject’⁵ were handed down during the Carolingian era. Precisely in the year 800 Alcuin dedicated his reworked *Vita S. Richarii* to Charlemagne; in its preamble, we find programmatic statements addressing the restyling of a Merovingian

* Translated from German by dr. Iannis Goerlandt (donderkast.be).

¹ Abbot Maurdrumnus of Corbie (772–781) commissioned a Bible of 12–13 volumes, five of which are preserved in the Bibliothèque Municipale of Amiens. Already, these are written in Carolingian minuscule, cf. Lowe E.A. <– B. Bischoff>, *Codices Latini Antiquiores* t. 6 (Oxford: 1953) no. 707: ‘Script is [...] fully developed Caroline minuscule’. Because this script has its own character, it is also referred to as “Maurdrumnus Script”, e.g. in Ganz D., *Corbie in the Carolingian Renaissance* (Sigmaringen: 1990) 132sqq.

² The “Godesscalc-Evangelistar”, Paris, BN nouv.acq.lat.1203 dating from 781–783, the oldest MS in Carolingian minuscule that can be dated more or less precisely, argues in favour of this view. Practically the only palaeographer to repeat the name of the writer Godesscalc correctly (with ss) is Steffens F., *Lateinische Paläographie* (Berlin: 21929) tab. 45.

³ Mabillon J., *De re diplomatica* (Paris: 21709) acknowledged the Carolingian minuscule as a separate script; incidentally, he calls it *Carolina* (p. 51).

⁴ Cf. Berschin W., *Biographie und Epochenstil im lateinischen Mittelalter*, t. 3: *Karolingische Biographie* (Stuttgart: 1991) 101–113.

⁵ Bischoff B., *Mittelalterliche Studien* t. 3 (Stuttgart: 1981) 219: ‘Drei Viertel der gesamten römischen und frühmittelalterlichen Literatur des Faches’.

text. And finally: with how much ardour the ancient classics were again collected is highlighted by a catalogue in the Berlin manuscript Diez. B.Sant.66, written in approximately 790, which lists 14 classical authors (among whom one in the meantime lost Alcimus Alethius): 14 authors that were recorded separately, and not next to Bible manuscripts, church fathers etc.⁶ This 'manuscript, about which one could write a book'⁷ thus contains a pure catalogue of classics.

What is Carolingian epochal style? Intensive work in grammar as a school subject yielded a respectable vocabulary that enabled the fine authors of the middle Carolingian era to formulate even complex matters clearly and to the point. In the *Hortulus* by Walahfrid Strabo († 849) for instance, in the description of a melon, we find a remarkable feat: Strabo successfully paints how a soap bubble forms while washing a hand, how it turns glisteningly and then perishes;⁸ for such a description authors of the preceding epoch perhaps already would have been lost for words. In the middle Carolingian epoch (800–860/870) there was still reluctance to use neologisms and words of non-Latin origin; around 870, however, Hincmar of Reims remarks that his nephew Hincmar of Laon uses 'obscure words' that are collected 'from even the remotest glosses', 'Greek [...], Irish and other barbarous words'.⁹ Such mannerisms indeed will become a characteristic trait of the late Carolingian era (approx. 870–920).

By and by, grammar in a stricter sense is brought at level of the late classical period. While in the *Epistola de litteris colendis* from the year 787, the first of Charlemagne's cultural edicts, one could still read *in sacris paginibus* instead of *in sacris paginis* and *videbat* instead of *videbatur*—without there being a distinction between the deponent *videri* and the active form *videre*—, later on, in the works of the 'better' authors, such declination and syntax errors are almost completely

⁶ Berlin, Diez.B.Sant.66, p. 218sq.; facs. Bischoff B. (ed.), *Grammatici latini et catalogi librorum* (Graz: 1973). On the discussion about its origin (Aachen or Verona?) cf. Licht T., *Journal of Medieval Latin* 11 (2001) 210.

⁷ Traube L., *Einleitung in die lateinische Philologie des Mittelalters* (Munich: 1911) 51: 'Handschrift, über die man ein Buch schreiben könnte'.

⁸ Walahfrid *Hortulus* 163–172 (= MGH Poetae t. 2, 1884, 341); new edition Berschin W., *Walahfrid Strabo: De cultura hortorum (Hortulus)*, Reichenauer Texte und Bilder 13 (Heidelberg: 2007) 58.

⁹ Hincmar of Reims *Opusculum LV capitulorum* c. 43 (= Migne PL 126, col. 448sq.); new edition Schieffer R., *Die Streitschriften Hinkmars von Reims und Hinkmars von Laon 869–871* (Hannover: 2003) 314sq.

absent. The Carolingian 'correctio'—as we should call it more aptly than 'Renaissance' in the terms of Percy Ernst Schramm¹⁰—was not successful in all respects, though. The Carolingians did not know the rules of the ablative singular of the third (consonantal) declination as we do. From this the errors in the junctures *a priori*, *a posteriori*, *a potiori* originate which exist until today: following our grammar, these should be *a priore* etc.

Stylistically, new developments can be clearly observed in the fields of biography and hagiography. School elements irrupt into these types of literature: rhetorics, dialectics. Even experiments are to be found that aimed to integrate in the field of biography not only elements of the trivium but even those of the quadrivium. With many means authors worked for the recovery of a *high* style. Metrics was one of these. In his *Hortulus* Walahfrid Strabo displays not only perfect knowledge of prosody and the common rhetorical means, but skilfully adopts the more deviating forms as well, for instance a versus spondiacus to sketch a tough snarl of nettle in his little garden ('Sponte renascentum complexibus urticarum' v.43), or the hypermeter to manifestly depict the almost infinite number of species of mint (v.285). Eleven of his 444 hexameters are golden verses, 'that verse which they call Golden, of two substantives and two adjectives with a verb betwixt to keep peace' (John Dryden † 1708).¹¹

Finally, the classics collected so assiduously in the Carolingian era in the worst cases were merely preserved only to be lost later on; in the best cases, however, they served as vantage points for new forms. Einhart learns from Suetonius how to describe an emperor, Walahfrid from Columella and Serenus Sammonicus how to intertwine botany and medicine, and Paschasius Radbertus of Corbie from Ambrose's *De excessu fratris Satyri* how to portray two brothers.

As a *communis opinio* we can conclude that there was such a thing as a Carolingian epochal style, a high period of Latin culture from approx. 780 until 920 that is delimited by deep valleys of barbarianism on both sides. Incidentally, this Carolingian epoch probably was characterized by a relatively uniform pronunciation of Latin: the *c* was assimilated before

¹⁰ Schramm P.E., *Kaiser, Könige, Päpste* t. 1 (Stuttgart: 1968) 336.

¹¹ Dryden J., *Preface to Sylvae*, quoted from L.P. Wilkinson, *Ovid Recalled* (Cambridge: 1955) 37.

'high' vowels; *kaisar* came to be pronounced as *tesar*.¹² When during this period one heard a *k* before a 'high' vowel—e.g. in the speech of an Irishman *patrikius*—, this was deemed a curiosity. This same assibilation occurs for *ti-* before a vowel; in Carolingian, you say *patsientsia*. In Central Europe, this 'Carolingian' pronunciation has been retained into the twentieth, even the twenty-first century.

Which style epochs can be defined before and after the Carolingian epoch? The designation 'Archaic Latin' seems to remain valid. The essential characteristics of this oldest style stage of Latin known to us were enumerated by Franz Skutsch in an essay still quoted today.¹³ Even a handbook proud not to draw on 'the global term 'history''¹⁴ entitles its first volume *Die archaische Literatur*. From Ennius (200 B.C.), Plautus († 184 B.C.) and Terence (active 166–159 B.C.) this 'archaic literature' quickly develops into the classical language we know.

One of the best examples is the emergence of the Latin historical style between 100 B.C. and 100 A.D., from Claudius Quadrigarius over Titus Livy to Tacitus. Quadrigarius sketches a man-to-man fight between a Gaul and a Roman on a bridge over the river Aniene, a scene that Livy restyled. Latin philology did not miss this opportunity for a stylistic comparison.¹⁵ Quadrigarius' two-dimensional narrative style is at the transition from archaic to classic Latin literature, Livy's architecture of different time levels is situated in the Classic or Golden Age, Tacitus's condensed style of contrasts finally can be counted to that of the Silver Age. The last-named epoch was characterised in detail by Quintilian († approx. 100 A.D.) in the tenth book of the *Institutiones* using the example of Seneca the Younger and Lucan (both † 65 A.D.): he considered Lucan 'ardens et concitatus ('excited') et sententiis clarissimus et... magis oratoribus quam poetis imitandus' (X 1,90), whereas Seneca was characterised with the phrase 'minutissimae sententiae' (X 1,130).

¹² Cf. Stotz P., *Handbuch zur lateinischen Sprache des Mittelalters: t. 3 Lautlehre* (Munich: 1996) 183sq. and lit. See also Scherr V.V.G., *Handbuch der lateinischen Aussprache* (Kassel-Basel: 2002).

¹³ Skutsch F., "Die lateinische Sprache", in Hinneberg P. (ed.), *Die Kultur der Gegenwart. I 8: Die griechische und lateinische Literatur und Sprache* (Leipzig-Berlin: 1912) 523–565.

¹⁴ Schmidt P.L., "Einleitung in das Gesamtwerk", in *Handbuch der lateinischen Literatur der Antike. t. 1: Die archaische Literatur* (Munich: 2002) XLVIII ('den Globalbegriff Geschichte nicht in Anspruch [zu nehmen]').

¹⁵ Marouzeau J., *Introduction au latin* (Paris: 1943) 137–140; Albrecht M. von, *Meister römischer Prosa von Cato bis Apuleius* (Heidelberg: 21983) 110–126.

The third century A.D. is known as the dark age of the barracks emperors. In this era far-reaching changes in Latin script, language and literature took place. The biggest event at the root of this revolution was the Latin translation of the Bible from Greek and in part also from Hebrew. Among the translators of the early Latin Bible, the *Vetus latina*, there was no language artist. 'I abhorred that coarse language',¹⁶ the Bible reader Hieronymus admitted (*Epist.* 22,30), and young Augustine struggled with this experience as well (*Conf.* III 5,9). Later on, the Latins' idea of sophisticated language was a little less affronted by the Latin Bible after Hieronymus († 420) addressed the issue of translation and created an ameliorated, more refined version based on the *Vetus latina*, the *Vulgate*. The breadth of this project, however, has serious limitations, because the wording of the old Latin Bible had already been engraved in people's minds and had become liturgical, and therefore could not be altered easily.

Incessantly, the church fathers have defended the Latin of the Bible. 'Not rhetors but fishermen'¹⁷ were said to have announced the faith, and God must have had a reason to have his Word heard and read in so coarse a form. Many of the *patres ecclesiae* have assured us that they wrote after the highest example of the *sermo humilis*, whereas in reality, they took great care not to do so. Nevertheless, the Christian impulse behind many of the movements in the Latin language in the period of the Later Antiquity is manifest. Examples are semantic shifts such as in *adulterium* 'misconduct → unchastity', *fides* 'trust → faith', *gratia* 'gratitude → mercy', *natalicium* 'birth day → day of death' (as the day you are born into eternal life) etc. Immense was the number of superficially Latinized Greek words such as *agape*, *anathema*, *angelus* etc.

In the morphology of Latin, the influx of Hebrew and Greek words posed a number of problems. Hebrew names, which in the Bible of course abound, in part were classified in the Latin declinations, in part treated as indeclinable. For many names the Vulgate has both options. In the Book of Tobit for instance we find in c.6 (v.22) *in semine Abrahae*, whereas in c.7 'the God of Abraham' is called *deus Abraham* (v.15). Moses is classified in the third declination, but frequently the accusative takes the Greek ending *-en*: *ab Adam usque ad Moysen* (Rom 5,14) etc.

¹⁶ 'Sermo horrebat incultus'.

¹⁷ 'Non rhetores, sed piscatores'.

In Middle Latin, such licenses and variations will become exemplary for the treatment of Celtic and Germanic names (*nomina barbara*).

On the level of syntax, we can observe the rapid advance of participial constructions, e.g. past participle + *esse* instead of the simple verb. Not always mere convenience or lack of skill of the translators or a relapse into popular speech reign in such cases, but from time to time this also is a means of expression used intentionally. *Si vis perfectus esse, vade, vende, quae habes, et da pauperibus...* (Matt. 19,21) is said to the rich young man that is virtuous but that is not able to go one step further. *Cum audisset autem adulescens verbum abiit tristis; erat enim habens multas possessiones* (Matt. 19,22). Not *habuit* or *habebat*, but *erat habens*. The imperfect form of the present participle highlights the *durative* character of the expression. The rich young man did not manage many possessions accidentally or temporarily; he *was* a rich man. His wealth was and remains a part of his being. Because of that, the rich young man cannot follow the messiah. He had asked Him: *Magister bone, quid boni faciam, ut habeam vitam aeternam?* (Matt. 19,16).—*Quid faciam?* Everything related to *doing* he could meet. Selling all his possessions, however, concerned his *being*. In this case, this interpretation can be found in the formulation *erat enim habens multas possessiones*. With the same stylistic means Judas is characterised. He estimated that the anointing oil which Mary Magdalene spilled at the feet of Jesus was worth 300 denarii: 'Why was not this ointment sold for three hundred pence, and given to the poor? This he said, not that he cared for the poor; but because he was a thief, and had the bag, and bare what was put therein' (John 12,5sq.): *quia fur erat et loculos habens*, not *habuit* or *habebat*, but *habens*. This was the essence of who he was.

'A Greek-oriental shimmer lies over this Latin'.¹⁸ In the epoch for which in the last decades the term 'Late Latin' has become accepted, many Christian authors wrote a grammatically controlled Latin that was but moderately Biblical in tone. On the other hand, there already were authors whose all but sole means of expression was the coarse language of the Latin Bible. An example of such a work is the autobiography of the apostle of the Irish Patricius which was written in the second half of the fifth century: the opusculum of a *homo unius libri*, with Patricius's single book being the Latin Bible.

¹⁸ Traube L., *Einleitung* (note 7) 51: 'Ein griechisch-orientalischer Schimmer liegt über diesem Latein'.

One hundred years later we encounter a similar evolution in Gaul, the *terra rhetorum* of Late Antiquity. In the biography of Caesarius of Arles, written around 550, the demarcation line between antiquity and the Middle Ages runs through the work itself. The first part was written by three bishops in a temperate church father Latin, while the second part was written by clerical valets in a *sermo humilis*, the foundations of which only are the Latin Bible and related texts.¹⁹

Now begins the Merovingian epoch of Latin, characterised by a decline of the study of grammar and thus also by the temporary disappearance of the classical school authors Cicero, Sallust, Terence and Vergil from the reading curricula. It should come as no surprise that Gregory I the Great—who still must have known his Vergil and other school classics—does not mention them any more. As a matter of principle, Gregory the Great, who mentions *not even a single* non-Christian author by name, avoids using quotations from the classics.²⁰ Pope Gregory's contemporary Gregory of Tours, who seems not to have learned any grammatical Latin any more, shows awareness of the tension between his intention to write expressively and the shaky foundations of his language. Like him, many authors of the Merovingian era, especially hagiographers, write texts full of barbarisms and solecisms, which, however, sometimes turn out to quite expressive.

This does not mean that this epoch is solely marked by decline. The Old Latin ending *-abus* sometimes is used in the first declination—which in cases such as *animabus*, *filiabus*, *monachabus* makes perfect sense. In the second declination the metaplastic paradigm *-onis*, *-oni*, *-onem* is constructed for names ending in *-us*, which will be used until the High Middle Ages in zones laying outside of the Carolingian 'correctio'. The endings in *-abus* of the first declination can be found in the Latin Liturgy of Death, where they are used until today: in liturgy it is important to clearly express with *pro animabus* that the prayer is intended not for the *animus* but for the *anima*.

The following paragraph from the old vita of Richarius can serve as an example of the Merovingian style:

Quod antea scribere debui, hoc post memini. Cum de hac vita ipse servus dei migrasset et feretro conpositus in ipso tegurio iaceret, cum ibidem

¹⁹ Berschin W., *Biographie und Epochenstil t. 1* (Stuttgart: 1986) 249–258.

²⁰ Hagendahl H., *Von Tertullian zu Cassidor. Die profane literarische Tradition in dem christlichen Schrifttum* (Göteborg: 1983) 114.

- evangelium legeretur, sua manibula, qui remanserat, sopore depressus visionem, qualem videbat, cum expegefactus fuisset, referebat hunc
- 5 modum, quasi vidisset domnum Richarium quasi vivum per visionem in aula splendida et quasi aurea et de gemmis exornata, lucentia ut sole, et ipso servo dei in eadem habitantem et loquentem ei: 'Frater Sigobarde, mala mansione habuimus de fumo; vel in ista modo domo non nos nocet fumus!' Ecce qui habuit pro deo obscuritatem, praeparavit illi deus claritatem et pro fumosa mansione clarissima retributione, ubi iusti fulgebunt
- 10 sicut sol in regno patris eorum.²¹

Apart from the rare *manibula* ('fellow, henchman', line 3) we encounter in the vocabulary a barbarism in the adjective *lucentia* for *lucens*; the *rectus sole* (line 6) and the oblique forms *mala mansione* (line 8) and *clarissima retributione* (line 10) show a Romanic morphology. The construction with *de* for the ablativus instrumentalis *de gemmis* (line 6) is popular-Late Latin speech. The sentence *Cum de hac vita—loquentem ei* (line 1–7), which constitutes half of the narrative, consists of the simple main sentence *manibula... referebat* (line 3–4), around which three temporal clauses, one relative clause, two comparative clauses and some participle constructions are accumulated. This period is held together more by lexical clustering than by syntactical joints: *visionem... videbat* (line 4), *quasi vidisset... per visionem* (line 5). The temporal part of the period is 'strengthened' by *cum* (line 1–4), the comparative part by *quasi* (line 5–6), both repeated thrice. In this lexical addition and syntactical accumulation safeguard the proper orientation. A similar *cumulative* construction of periods can be found in many texts of this epoch, also outside of the proper Merovingian domain, for instance in the *Liber pontificalis*, the official biography of the Roman bishops.

The *vita* of Richarius is the text which Alcuin stylistically improved in the year 800 and which he dedicated to Charlemagne. Alcuin's preamble²² is a first indication of the fact that the grammatically solemn school Latin moves away from what people generally considered to be Latin. Alcuin is surprised that such a great saint ('tanti nominis confessor') should receive only such a small biography ('modicum gestorum volumen'). The abbot and the monks reply that a great book containing the saint's miracles ('codex grandioris quantitatis') is part

²¹ *Vita (I) S. Richarii* c.14, in B. Krusch (ed.), *MGH Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum* t. 7 (Hannover-Leipzig: 1920) 452sq. See Berschin W., *Biographie und Epochenstil* t. 2 (Stuttgart: 1988) 92–94.

²² Alcuin *Vita (II) S. Richarii* praef. = *MGH Epistolae* t. 4 (Berlin: 1895) 465sq. as well as *MGH Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum* t. 4 (1902) 389.

of the biography of Richarius as well. They did not want to embellish the style of this book, however, because its less refined style 'fratribus ad recitandum in populo aptior videbatur'. The monks and their guest Charles thus enjoy the *vita* read in the new, Carolingian style, while at the feast of Richarius the local residents and pilgrims listen to the miracles in the Merovingian style. Due to the grammatical improvement of school Latin, a *diglossia* originates, which is the forerunner of a genuine language separation. Very soon, Latin would have a considerable number of daughters, the *Romanic* languages.

Never before in the history of Western civilisation, reading, writing, grammar and schooling were deemed so important as in that time. The Herculean effort to recover the grammatical foundations of Latin little by little, often word by word, can only be compared with the effort of the whole of the Western world during the High Middle Ages to understand Aristotle in all of his works and to build on this heritage.

After that, however, the four decades between 920 and 960 mark the deepest depression in the history of Latin we know of. Is that which comes after the year 960 a slow recovery and continuation of the Carolingian or does something new begin here? Is there such a thing as an Ottonian epochal style? The history of art is the first discipline to have answered this question affirmatively—it recognizes Ottonian book painting, architecture, sculpture, even the Ottonian city. I once believed that in the same way I could use Ottonian *biography* as a concept too, but I would hesitate to classify the whole of Latin literature of that period as belonging to an Ottonian epochal style.

In the history of Latin, the political and religious caesura of the so-called Investiture Controversy from 1070 onwards is hardly noticeable: the level of language and literature improves from generation to generation and reaches a new, classical high in the 12th century. Around 1220, however, at the apex of the *geographical* expansion of Latin, a collapse of the Latin style can be observed throughout Europe. This collapse is linked to scholastic science, which developed and was further refined at the new universities. Scholasticism works in a dialectical way and therefore lays much weight on conceptual accuracy. Many of the scholastics do not consider the limited means of expression of Latin in this field an impediment; if an expression does not exist, it is created without any stylistic hesitation.²³ The *qualitas* introduced by Cicero now corresponds

²³ Blatt F., *Sprachwandel im Latein des Mittelalters* (Darmstadt: 1970) 20.

to the *talitas* ('the being-so'); furthermore we find *haecceitas*, *quidditas*, *ipseitas*, *perseitas boni* ('the being-in-itself of goodness').

By no means the development of new terminology is a phenomenon of the outskirts of the language alone. We owe scholastic Latin certain concepts without which we could not imagine intellectual life, such as *abstrahere*, *subiectivus* / *obiectivus*. Petrus Ramus (Pierre de la Ramée, †1572) writes that at Parisian schools there were teachers that did not care about the elementary grammar to such an extent that they claimed *Ego amat* to be as good Latin as *Ego amo*.²⁴ Behind that idea lies the effort to introduce the in Latin non-existent definite article. Those formulating the shocking *Ego amat* wanted to make a noun out of the personal pronoun *ego*, 'the I' or 'an I', and for lack of an article marked this shift syntactically with *amat*. Pursuing this goal, Thomas Aquinas († 1274) distanced himself farthest away from the Latin grammar when in a commentary to the *Sentences* of Petrus Lombardus he introduced the definite article *ly*: '*ly solus excludit tantum aliud; ly alium potest teneri; ly pater potest praedicare personam patris*'.²⁵

A scholastic style exists which is characterized by a desire to catalogue, numerate, classify and subdivide. We encounter it in epic prose as well, e.g. in the Spanish biography of Isidore of the 12th century inventorying the bishop's virtues. On the basis of the then well-known *Regula pastoralis* by Gregory the Great, our author created a show-piece of Latin prose which continuously draws on groups of four:

Decoratus igitur infula praesulari

- 1 quantus vixerit..., extiterit..., profecerit quantaque fecerit,
- 2 pontifex..., praesul..., antistes..., episcopus testetur;
- 3 declaret virtus pontificem..., scientia praesulem... doctrina antistitem, mores eloquantur episcopum.
- 4 Erat enim semper prudens, ... constans, ... modestus, ... iustus, ...²⁶

Each of the above-mentioned virtues—the four cardinal virtues—in its turn is unfolded four times. Following Erwin Panofsky, this 'scholastic prose' can be connected to Gothic architecture and its 'principle of progressive divisibility'.²⁷

²⁴ As quoted in Blatt F., *Sprachwandel* (note 23) 19.

²⁵ Schütz L., *Thomas-Lexikon* (Paderborn: 1895—repr. Stuttgart: 1958) 457.

²⁶ Vita S. Isidori c. 17, *Acta SS April* t. 1, 1675, 337; Migne PL 82, col. 34 (counted as c. 16). Cf. Berschin W., *Biographie und Epochenstil* t. 4 / 2 (Stuttgart: 2001) 553–555.

²⁷ Panofsky E., *Gothic Architecture and Scholasticism* (New York: 1976) 48.

The gradual reorientation towards the classical Latin models in the 14th century originated in Italy, the country where in all fields of art the Gothic style was realized but very slowly. Characteristic for the early Humanists is that they strongly distinguished themselves from the past. Petrarch stated that the Latin written in the past was definitely not a 'high style' like that of for example Cicero; a few wrote in a middle style, many more in a low one, and below that, there was another type of writing—not a style, but 'a boorish and slavish gush of words that will not become dignified even when it is used for a thousand years'.²⁸ The Florentine humanist Leonardo Bruni pronounced the Dante's Latin to be exactly such 'disgraceful Latin'. The Humanists also distanced themselves from their *direct* predecessors. Dante was not schooled in classical Latin. Leonardo Bruni nevertheless exaggerated when around 1400 he declared to Coluccio Salutati that he wanted 'to exclude Dante from the circle of *litterati* and banish him to the company of bakers and belt makers'²⁹ because of his medieval Latin influenced by contemporary Scholasticism. Medieval Latin as the language of craftsmen and slaves—the metaphor that would discredit Middle Latin as no other had done before already had been in the air for some time: 'coquinaria latinitas' ('Küchenlatein').³⁰ This term was introduced in 1452 in a pamphlet against Poggio written by Lorenzo Valla,³¹ the same Valla to whom we owe the most beautiful style book after Quintilian: the *Elegantiae linguae latinae*, published around 1442.

Admittedly, Valla's book is marked by a certain indifference with respect to the ecclesiastical Latin traditions (e.g. for the nouns ending in *-abus*).³² Shortly after 1500, this indifference culminated in Italian

²⁸ Petrarca *Familiarum rerum* XIII 5, 16: 'verborum... quaedam et agrestis et servilis effusio est, et quamquam mille annorum observatione continua inoleverit, dignitatem tamen... ex tempore non habebit'. Petrarca F., *Francesco Petrarca: Le familiari* t. 3, ed. V. Rossi, (Florence: 1937) 69.

²⁹ Bruni L., *Dialogus de tribus vatibus Florentinis lib. I*, ed. K. Wotke (Prague-Vienna: 1889) 21: 'ego istum poetam tuum a concilio litteratorum seiungam atque eum zonariis, pistoribus et eius modi turbae relinquam'. This scathing judgment is uttered by Niccolò Niccoli. In the second book of the *Dialogus*, however, Bruni lets the same Niccoli praise Dante and to a certain extent makes him revoke his criticism.

³⁰ Cf. Pfeiffer R., "Küchenlatein", in Pfeiffer R., *Ausgewählte Schriften* (Munich: 1960) 183–187 (with further literature).

³¹ Valla L., "In Poggio libellus primus in dialogo conscriptus", in Valla L., *Laurentii Vallae opera* (Basel: 1540—repr. Turin 1962) 366–374; the term *culinarium vocabulum* is on p. 369.

³² The discussion about this ending begins in Valla's *Elegantiae*: "De nominibus in -a, quorum ablativi plurales exeunt in -abus". While Valla tolerates e.g. the liturgical

Ciceronianism, which made its way into the Secretary of the renaissance popes with Pietro Bembo († 1547) and others. In his *Ciceronianus*, published in 1528, Erasmus very cleverly caricatured what ecclesiastical Latin (left column) could be turned into through the pen of a Ciceronian (right column):

Iesus Christus, verbum et filius aeterni patris... venit in mundum...	Optimi maximique Iovis interpres ac filius... ex Olympo devolavit in terras... ³³
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This new heathen way, however, was continued only for a short period after the advent of the Reformation, this extreme type of Ciceronianism remaining a mere episode.

At the end of his book on *Antique Art Prose* Eduard Norden had the following sentences printed with proper emphasis:

The Latin language, which in the Middle Ages had never become extinct completely and therefore had been subject to all kinds of changes, was given the death blow by the same men that were convinced that they were reviving it for all eternity, the same men that wanted to turn Latin into the international standard language. The history of the Latin language here ends and is henceforth replaced by the history of its study.³⁴

These, however, should be interpreted as the words of a man who has left his initial starting point—the Greek orators—and who wants to make a final concluding point rather than as the words of a Latinist striving to survey the whole.

After all, Latin literature did continue; Neolatin literature is more than a mere contribution to the history of the study of Latin. We will discuss a Southern German special case that could be relevant with regards to the epochal history: the hymns to the saints in the odes and epodes of Jakob Balde.

When not taking into account the practically omnipresent Marian hymns, there are only three such poems in the *Carmina lyrica*, which

fixed form *famulabus*, he disapproves of the by the same token equally justifiable and in Middle Latin very common *dominabus*.

³³ Erasmus D., *Desiderii Erasmi... opera omnia* I 2 (Amsterdam: 1971) 641.

³⁴ Norden E., *Die antike Kunstprosa* (Darmstadt: 1958) 767: 'Der lateinischen Sprache, die im Mittelalter nie ganz aufgehört hatte zu leben und demgemäß Veränderungen aller Art unterworfen gewesen war, wurde von denselben Männern, die sich einbildeten, sie zu neuem dauerndem Leben zu erwecken, sie zu einer internationalen Kultursprache zu machen, der Todesstoß gegeben. Die Geschichte der lateinischen Sprache hört damit endgültig auf, an die Stelle tritt die Geschichte ihres Studiums'.

were published in 1643 by the then 40-year-old Jakob Balde:³⁵ surprisingly little hagiographies for a Jesuit poet. Ode I 3 *Thomae Mori constantia* ('The Steadfastness of Thomas More') can be regarded as the first of these three saint poems, although the official canonization of Thomas More only took place in 1935 in Rome. On the other hand, at the time of Balde the cult of the saints was not as rigorously controlled as it would be from 1743 onwards after Pope Benedict XIV published *De servorum dei beatificatione et beatorum canonizatione*.

The eight alcaic stanzas entitled *Thomae Mori constantia*³⁶ begin with a demonstrative gesture: *Hic ille Morus* and a brief praise expressing what Erasmus of Rotterdam more than once³⁷ said about More and his death: 'This is More; nothing better did ever / the sun see under Britain's sky'.³⁸

This man unyieldingly set his *propositum* against Henry VIII (v.7, cf. Hor. *carm.* III 3,1). Neither prison nor his wife Aloysia, not even his son-in-law or his daughter Margareth could change his mind. The content of the fourth alcaic stanza is striking:

It is said that his wife urged him to be cautious,
that however was not worthy of such a man, and he
packed her off with frantic
laughter like a mad woman³⁹

³⁵ Balde J., *Jacobi Balde... Carmina lyrica*, ed. B. Müller (Munich: 1844 = Regensburg: 1884 = repr. Hildesheim-New York: 1977) 6sq.

³⁶ More's *constantia* is highlighted in the *Expositio fidelis de morte D. Thomae Mori...* from 1535, which used to be attributed to Erasmus: Erasmus D., *Opus epistolarum Des. Erasmi* t. 11, ed. H.M. Allen – H.W. Garrod (Oxford: 1947) 369–378, here p. 372. In more recent literature the *Expositio fidelis* is considered to be a work of Philippus Montanus († 1576), a student of Erasmus. Cf. Trapp J.B. – Schulte Herbrüngen H., *The King's Good Servant* (London: 1977) 129 no. 254.

³⁷ 'ingenium, quale Anglia nec habuit umquam nec habitura est', Erasmus calls More in *Epist.* 3036 to bishop Christoph von Stadion of Augsburg, Erasmus D., *Opus* (note 36) 192; even closer to Balde's phrase is Erasmus, *Epist.* 3049 to bishop Peter Tomiczki of Krakow: 'quo... nunquam habuit Anglia quicquam sanctius aut melius' (ibidem, 221).

³⁸ 'Hic, ille Morus, quo melius nihil / Titan Britanno vidit ab aethere'.

³⁹ 'Fertur monentem mitia coniugem, / sed non et isto digna viro, procul / abs se remotam cum feroci / ut fatuam pepulisse risu'. Beitinger W., "Thomas Morus in einer Ode Jakob Baldes", *Anregung. Zeitschrift für Gymnasialpädagogik* 31 (1985) 312–321, here p. 318: 'Balde, ein Dichter von reicher Inventio, aber auch ein Artist des Wortspiels, der Doppelbödigkeit der Aussage, hat den rigorosen Ernst der Strophe gemildert, indem sein Morus mit *ut fatuam*... auf die Mora, also den Familiennamen seiner Frau anspielt'.

In William Roper's († 1578) contemporary biography of More there is a description of the nasty scene made by More's second wife during her only visit to her husband while he was incarcerated in the Tower⁴⁰ for a year. According to Roper, More remained his calm. We do not know of any historical source from which Balde could have drawn the detail of the strong reaction of the martyr. As already known by long, however, there is a striking similarity to Horace's Ode III 5 (41sq.) with the history of Regulus, who was a prisoner of war in Carthage and who was sent to Rome as an ambassador, where he advised the Romans *not* to accept the Carthaginian offer, and who returned to his deadly imprisonment in spite of his wife and children:

They say he refused his chaste wife's kiss
and pushed his young children away as though
no longer a Roman, grimly keeping
his manly gaze to the ground⁴¹

Balde wanted to show the similarity by unmistakably incorporating the 'dark' expression at the end of the sixth stanza.⁴² A further classical influence can be found in the seventh stanza where we read that More grabbed for 'his axe' (v.28), just as Sulla, wreathed with laurel, grabbed for the fasces. In this case, the juncture *laureati fasces* (v.29), often used in classical Latin, inspired the poet to draw this surprising comparison, because in the middle of the fasces there was an axe. The laurel followed the axe. For the comparison Sulla is chosen because the reader certainly knows him from *Iugurtha* as *cupido voluptatum, sed gloriae cupidior* (95,37). Balde can emphasize the severe feature of Thomas More by using Sulla as a contrasting figure.

We are fairly convinced, however, that More did not have Sulla in mind on the scaffold, but rather Cyprian of Carthage who before his execution instructed his deacons to give the executioner 25 gold pieces.

⁴⁰ Vaughan Hitchcock E. (ed.), *The Lyfe of Sir Thomas More, knyghte, written by William Roper* (London: 1935) 95–99. Nicholas Harpsfield († 1575) compares the scene of More's wife in the Tower with that of "Jobes wife", cf. Vaughan Hitchcock E. (ed.), *The life and death of Sir Thomas More . . . , written in the tyme of Queene Marie by Nicholas Harpsfield* (London: 1932) 99. Thomas Stapleton († 1598) writes that Dame Alice, his second wife, 'was sent into prison to tempt her husband'. See Reynolds E.E. (ed.), *The Life and illustrious martyrdom of Sir Thomas More by Thomas Stapleton. In the translation of P.E. Hallett* (London: 21966) 161.

⁴¹ 'Fertur pudicae coniugis osculum / parvosque natos ut capitis minor / abs se removisse et virilem / Torvus humi posuisse voltum'. The translation from West D., *Horace Odes III: Dulce Periculum* (Oxford: 2002).

⁴² Verse 24: 'Fata tuens hilarisque torvum'.

Thomas More knew the *Acta Cypriani* in which this is recorded and consciously imitated this demonstrative gesture. Balde also incorporated this example in the last stanza (v.30–32):

after the executioner's hesitant hand
had been steadied with a reward
he offered his neck for the blow of the bloody iron.⁴³

This certainly does not mean that More died 'in vain dazzle and blasphemous overestimation of himself—as a competitor of Christ' or that he wanted to 'emulatively surpass the Passion of Christ' by 'displaying his willingness to make sacrifices and his contempt of death', as a scholar recently vociferated.⁴⁴ Balde puts More in the tradition of a very well-documented martyr pose that is reinforced by the authentic motive from the *Passio SS. Perpetuae et Felicitatis*, which speaks of the unsteady hand of the executioner; 'errantem dexteram tirunculi gladiatoris ipsa in iugulum suum transtulit'⁴⁵ it is said of Perpetua. Hence Balde's 'manus pavens carnificis' in the antepenultimate verse of the ode on Thomas More.

What is striking about this ode is the blending in of antique examples. Does Balde's approach to Antiquity still conform to Renaissance techniques? Or is his intensification already Baroque stylisation? The second hagiographical *Carmen lyricum* of the collection in part answers this question. Let us take a look at the Latin text:

Tristis voluptas, flebile gaudium,
Fuliginosas, o lacrymae, genas
Et pectus ubertim lavate:
Illa ego sum Veneris probrosae
Exusta foedis terra caloribus,
Rigate vultum: currite, currite;
Aegyptus in me sicca squallet:
Vos, lacrymae, meus este Nilus.⁴⁶

⁴³ 'Postquam paventem carnificis manum / mercede firmasset, cruento / colla dedit ferienda ferro'.

⁴⁴ Gleis F., "Der Narr und seine Frau", in E. Lefèvre (ed.), *Balde und Horaz* (Tübingen: 2002) 11–23, here p. 19: 'in eitler Verblendung und blasphemischer Selbstüberschätzung—als Konkurrent Christi... durch Zurschaustellung von Opferbereitschaft und Todesverachtung die Passion Christi aemulativ überbieten'.

⁴⁵ Beek C.I.M. van (ed.), *Passio SS. Perpetuae et Felicitatis* t. 1 (Nijmegen: 1936) 52 (c. 21).

⁴⁶ *Carmina lyrica* II 16: *Maria Aegyptiaca poenitens* in Balde J., *Carmina* (note 35) 118.

The again alcaic poem starts with an oxymoron: 'Tristis voluptas', and another oxymoron completes the first verse: 'flebile gaudium'—tears should roll down the black cheeks and the bosom. That is well-observed; both 'tristis voluptas' and 'flebile gaudium' really exist. The person speaking thus, 'illa ego', does not call herself by name; Balde's countryman and fellow Jesuit Jakob Bidermann had already used this technique⁴⁷ in an *Epigram* on Maria Aegyptiaca published in 1620, in a poem of which the theme was not 'the penitent' but rather 'penitence' itself.⁴⁸ Balde picks up this idea and as it were potentialises it: *illa ego* is Egypt (in the Latin tradition the country of all vice and idolatry); it is the country burnt in the fierce heath of the labours of love. Tears run abundantly now ('currite, currite'), as the desert of a life scorched in flames lies there, desolate and still, until the Nile flood of tears rises. The essence of the life of Mary, once a nymphomaniac, who did penance in the desert for 47 years and needed 17 years before she could forget the adventures of as many years of her life as a prostitute, could not be captured better. However, in the greatness of the sense of sin and the harshness of penitence the ode also has a personal touch; the metaphor contains a story of the soul as well. Can this terse abridgement of a life into eight verses, combined with movement toward a monumental psychological scenery, be called Baroque style?

The third and last saint in Balde's *Carmina lyrica* is Geneviève, the Patron of Paris.⁴⁹ The poem in 24 alcaic stanzas was intended as a comfort for a young, dying man:

Entranced at the end of her life by the desire
for eternal life it is said that
Geneviève, the glory of France,
with an endearing sigh burst out the words:
Why do you bide, Death, my life...⁵⁰

Already in v.2, we find the 'fertur' we have already encountered in the More poem; it prepares us for the fact that the historical source

⁴⁷ Bidermann J., *Epigrammatum libri tres* (Augsburg: 1573) 243sq (*Epigramma* II 93).

⁴⁸ Kunze K., *Studien zur Legende der heiligen Maria Aegyptiaca im deutschen Sprachgebiet* (Berlin: 1969) 145.

⁴⁹ *Carmina lyrica* III 4: *Genovefa, Sancta Virgo Parisiensis*, in Balde J., *Carmina* (note 35) 196–200.

⁵⁰ 'Vergente vita rapta cupidine / vitae perennis fertur amabilem / singultum in has rupisse voces / Francigenum Genovefa sidus: / atqui moraris, Mors mea vita...'

for this story again cannot be found.⁵¹ In her hunger for eternal life, Geneviève urges death—mentioned as ‘*mea vita*’—to hurry; ‘*Dolor*’ (v.6) and ‘*Morbus*’ (v.7), the ‘marriage brokers’, have already dressed up the bride; the oil lamp of the vestal virgin is burning (v.8). Eve has picked the apple as dowry (‘*dotale pomum*’ v.18), with which Geneviève finally wants to marry and claim what she is entitled to (v.24): ‘light earth and a little dust’.⁵² The night of death is divine, the cold of death is a touch of warmth, the death torches are marriage torches, the grave is a bridal room—these oxymora fill a whole stanza.⁵³ Hardly a horrible detail is left out of this ‘ghastly’ poem. Turning pale is a well-known sign amongst lovers, why should I not turn pale as well (v.45)?—Balde lets his Geneviève ask herself this question ‘in a conscious contrafact to Ovid’s *Palleat omnis amans* (*Ars* I 729)’.⁵⁴ Come, my groom, even if you enjoy visiting pyramids and mausoleums, even if your servants work their way through muscles—the servants should be interpreted as worms—, even if snakes crawl through spines and empty eye sockets... ‘guide your footsteps hither, our Husband, / who has so many names and titles’.⁵⁵

In a variation on Horace (*carm.* I 4,13) Geneviève as the bride of death remembers that once death preferred the ‘*tabernas pauperis*’ (v.73). Should only the rich step into the shady grove ‘*pede libero*’ (v.78; cf. Hor., *carm.* I 37,1)?

We too can merit the force of the
Golden Bow; pull the arrow,
my love, and shoot it so that it sticks:
My bosom welcomes every wound⁵⁶

Finally, there are two more stanzas of wild mortal longing. The penultimate one begins with *Amemus* (v.89). In the last stanza we find a surprising twist, the Concetto, the *argutia* of the dying Geneviève:

⁵¹ Cf. Galle J., “Das Genovefa-Motiv in der Lyrik: Die lateinische Ode Jacob Baldes und ihre deutschen Versionen im 17. Jahrhundert”, in G. Hoffmeister (ed.), *Europäische Tradition und deutscher Literaturbarock* (Bern-Munich: 1973) 117–134.

⁵² ‘*Terra levis modicusque pulvis*’.

⁵³ (v.37–40): ‘*O nox beata, o ultima frigora, / Primi calores! O mea funebris / Et nuptialis taeda, luce! / O thalami tumulique nostri!*’

⁵⁴ Baier T., “Sainte Geneviève als Stoikerin”, in E. Lefèvre (ed.), *Balde* (note 44) 171–181, here p. 175: ‘in bewußter Kontrafaktur des ovidischen *Palleat omnis amans*’.

⁵⁵ (v.67–68): *Huc flecte cursum, tot marite / Nominibus titulisque noster*.

⁵⁶ (v.81–84): ‘*Et nos mereri possumus aureae / pondus pharetrae; profer arundinem, / dilecte, figendamque vibra: / vulneribus patet omne pectus*’.

I die. It is good.
 I have deceived death. Braid, C h r i s t,
 for your violet braid the crown.⁵⁷

Not Death was the groom Geneviève longed for so, it was Christ.

Is this still Renaissance or already Baroque? Or a third style? I summarize the brief analysis of the hagiographies in Balde's *Carmina lyrica*. Two of the three poems capture the life of the saint in one image, and could be imagined as tableaux: the excessively suffering Maria Aegyptiaca, Geneviève longing for death which practically borders on madness. Balde's Thomas More is pictured in two images: *constantia* with respect to his wife, *constantia* on the scaffold. New motives, not drawn from historical sources, are More's laughing at his crazy wife and his packing her off, and the whole scene of the dying Geneviève. What all three poems have in common is that they touch upon the limits of what is bearable: 'frantic laughing' in the face of death, death as marriage—or that they monumentally, sometimes even monstrously cross the boundaries of what is imaginable: tears rise as the floods of the Nile. In their exaggerations, all three poems to a certain extent have garish and bizarre traits. None of the three introduced characters is at peace with him- or herself; all three of them—even Thomas More who refers to a Roman episode that can be considered rather stoic—rise above themselves with fierce, ecstatic behaviour.

Of course, this is no longer Renaissance, but can or should it immediately be characterized as being Baroque? Remember that in 1643, the year in which Balde published his *Carmina*, not a single Baroque church had yet been erected in Southern Germany. Art history has found that between Renaissance and Baroque there are artists and styles that cannot be classified under either of the two epochal styles. Searching ways of escape towards the infinite, a concept of humans freed from all bonds of nature, turning away from the reality of being, subjectivism, psychocentrism, stretching and tension, an increasing movement upward searching the vertical, or downward to sucking depths, touching the boundaries of what is humanly bearable, *novitas* and surprising invention...these are some of the terms used in the

⁵⁷ '...Iam morimur: bene est. / Mortem fefelli: necte, C h r i s t e, / necte tuae violae coronam'.

discussions on *Mannerism*.⁵⁸ El Greco († 1614) probably is the most widely known artist of this epoch. Was there such a thing as a *Mannerist epochal style* in Latin (between Renaissance and Baroque)? Alongside the Archaic, Classical, Silver, Late Classical, Merovingian, Carolingian, Scholastic, Humanist and Baroque styles, it would be a tenth epochal style of Latin.

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⁵⁸ Hoffmann H., *Hochrenaissance-Manierismus-Frühbarock. Die italienische Kunst des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Zürich-Leipzig: 1934) 30, 45, 180; Baumgart F., *Renaissance und Kunst des Manierismus* (Cologne: 1963) 25, 91, 162.

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CHAPTER NINE

END GAME: HUMANIST LATIN IN THE LATE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

CHRISTOPHER S. CELENZA

I

Sometime between 1485 and 1491, the humanists Angelo Poliziano (1454–94) and Paolo Cortesi (1465–1510) engaged in an exchange of letters that, among scholars of Neo-Latin, has become well known. Cortesi, in his early twenties, had sent Poliziano (who was a decade older) a book in which he had collected his own letters, which he hoped to publish. In doing so, Cortesi partook of the familiar humanist custom of sending one's work to a respected colleague to obtain his judgment. It is difficult to forget how Poliziano opened his letter to Cortesi, in which he confessed that Cortesi's letters were not pleasing to him, redolent as they seemed of too excessive an imitation of Cicero: 'I am sending back the letters that, in your earnestness, you gathered together. If I may speak freely, I am ashamed to have spent my good time so poorly'. Cortesi's shortfall? 'As I have understood you, you are unaccustomed to approve any style of writing that does not portray Cicero's features'.¹

¹ Abbreviations: Cesarini Martinelli = Cesarini Martinelli L., "Note sulla polemica Poggio-Valla e sulla fortuna delle *Elegantiae*", *Interpres* 3 (1980) 29–79; *DBI* = *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*; Faithfull = Faithfull R., "The Concept of 'Living Language' in Cinquecento Vernacular Philology", *Modern Language Review* 48 (1953) 278–92; Fubini = Fubini R., "La coscienza del latino negli umanisti: 'an latina lingua Romanorum esset peculiare idioma,'" *Studi medievali*, s.3, v.2 (1961) 505–50; Garin = Garin E. (ed.), *Prosatori latini del Quattrocento* (Milan and Naples: 1952); Marsh = Marsh D., "Grammar, Method, and Polemic in Lorenzo Valla's 'Elegantiae'", *Rinascimento* n.s. 19 (1979) 91–116; Mazzocco = Mazzocco A., *Linguistic Theories in Dante and the Humanists: Studies of Language and Intellectual History in Late Medieval and Early Renaissance Italy* (Leiden: 1993); McLaughlin = McLaughlin M., *Literary Imitation in the Italian Renaissance* (Oxford–New York: 1995); Patota = Alberti L.B., *Grammatichetta e altri scritti sul volgare*, ed. G. Patota (Rome: 1996); Pigman = Pigman G.W. III, "Versions of Imitation in the Renaissance", *Renaissance Quarterly* 33 (1980) 1–32; Rizzo, *Ricerche* = Rizzo S., *Ricerche sul latino umanistico*, vol. 1 (Rome: 2002); Tavoni = Tavoni M., *Latino, grammatica, volgare: Storia di una questione umanistica* (Padua: 1984). For the

Cortesi replied, beginning his own letter no less memorably: 'Nothing has ever happened that was so far beyond my imagining than your returning my book of letters'.²

What followed, in Cortesi's letter, represented the simplest, most realistic, and ultimately the most cogent defense of a flexible Ciceronianism seen in the Renaissance.³ In Italy, this set of ideas signified both the end of the dream of a truly vital, creative Latin prose, and the beginnings of the adoption of classicizing standards in an Italian prose whose essential features were just then beginning to be the objects of sustained study. At stake in this debate were questions that reflected, by then, almost two centuries of striving, research, and exposition about the language question in Italy. What were the key features of this debate? How and among whom were they expressed in the most significant ways? Where were the most important centers of discussion?

Returning to Poliziano and Cortesi, it is useful to highlight their different social circumstances and traditions. Poliziano rose to prominence by his individual skill and talent, gaining a professorship at the Florentine university in 1480. He came from relatively humble circumstances, and for him, the search for academic and social distinction always remained tied to his work. Poliziano's ethos in that respect was rigorous: both sides of the ancient heritage, the Latin and the Greek, were important. Poliziano represents the Renaissance fulfillment of Leonardo Bruni's ideal of the perfect translator—who would fully know both languages and all the 'lines and colors' of the authors under discussion—even as he anticipates more than any other fifteenth-century figure the theory of comprehensive knowledge of antiquity which animated the pursuits of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century philologists, such as

debate, see Godman P., *From Poliziano to Machiavelli: Florentine Humanism in the High Renaissance* (Princeton: 1998) 45–51; McLaughlin, 202–06; Rizzo S., "Il Latino di Poliziano", in V. Fera – M. Martelli (eds.), *Agnolo Poliziano: Poeta, scrittore, filologo* (Florence: 1998) 83–125, at 102–04; Ricciardi R., "Cortesi, Paolo", in *DBI*, 29: 766–70. Texts in Garin, 902–11. The debate probably occurred sometime between 1485–91 (McLaughlin, 202; Rizzo, 102–03, n. 45; Ricciardi, 767). The cited passage in Garin, 902: 'Remitto epistolas diligentia tua collectas, in quibus legenda, ut libere dicam, pudet bonas horas male collocasse... Non enim probare soles, ut accipi, nisi qui lineamenta Ciceronis effingat'.

² Cortesi, in Garin, (note 1) 904: 'Nihil unquam mihi tam praeter opinionem meam accidit, quam redditus a te liber epistolarum nostrarum'.

³ For literature on Ciceronianism, see Monfasani J., "The Ciceronian Controversy", in *The Cambridge History of Literary Criticism*, vol. 3, *The Renaissance*, ed. G.P. Norton (Cambridge: 1999) 395–401.

Friedrich Welcker (1784–1868) and Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (1848–1931).⁴ The key point: Poliziano developed a philologically omnivorous mindset that, in its voracious intake of information, was tied intimately to his need to seek distinction by individual achievement. This search for distinction is part of the reason why he writes, famously, in this letter exchange, that his response to a potential critic of his non-Ciceronian style would be: ‘What then? I am not Cicero. Still, I represent myself as I deem appropriate’.⁵

Paolo Cortesi was markedly different. He came from a family with close ties to the papal court. His father, Antonio (d. 1474), had served in various curial offices from the court of Martin V (r. 1417–31) to that of Sixtus IV (r. 1471–84).⁶ Paolo Cortesi himself became, early in his life and career, a member of the court, being named a *scriptor* in 1481.⁷ As such he observed, professionally, a very different use of the Latin language. Since the 1450s and the pontificate of Nicholas V (r. 1447–55), the papal court had increasingly turned to humanist norms in its use of Latin. Yet members of the court also had, perforce, to be practical men. They were habituated not only to scholarly achievement and elegant Latinity; they also needed, because of the demands of their duties, to develop a language that was both classicizing in its norms and sufficiently standardized to make communication suitable among the papal court’s many diverse, international constituencies.⁸ Given these differences, what to Poliziano would have seemed a matter of careful research and reading that then expressed itself in an individual

⁴ Cf. Bruni L., *Humanistisch-philosophische Schriften mit einer Chronologie seiner Werke und Briefe*, ed. H. Baron, Quellen zur Geistesgeschichte des Mittelalters und der Renaissance 1 (Leipzig: 1928; reprint, Wiesbaden: 1969) 81–96; with Bertalot L., *Studien zum italienischen und deutschen Humanismus*, ed. P.O. Kristeller, 2 vols., Storia e letteratura, Raccolta di studi e testi 129–30 (Rome: 1975) 2:378–79; for an English translation, see that of J. Hankins in Bruni L., “On the Correct Way to Translate”, in *The Humanism of Leonardo Bruni*, ed. G. Griffiths – J. Hankins – D. Thompson (Binghamton, N.Y.: 1987) 217–29, at 220; for Wilamowitz, Welcker, and the environment they fostered, cf. Calder W.M. III, “Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff to William Abbott Oldfather: Three Unpublished Letters”, *The Classical Journal* 72 (1976) 115–127, at 117–18.

⁵ Garin, (note 1) 902: ‘Non exprimis, inquit aliquis, Ciceronem. Quid tum? Non enim sum Cicero; me tamen, ut opinor, exprimo’.

⁶ See Ballestreri G., “Cortesi, Antonio”, in *DBI*, 29: 754–56.

⁷ Cf. Ricciardi, (note 1).

⁸ Cf. D’Amico J., *Renaissance Humanism in Papal Rome: Humanists and Churchmen on the Eve of the Reformation* (Baltimore: 1983): ch. 5; Idem, “The Progress of Renaissance Latin Prose: The Case of Apuleianism” *Renaissance Quarterly* 37 (1984) 351–92, at 21.

yet classically based style, could have seemed to members of the papal court too *recherché* and not communicative enough.

Cortesi expressed this need to communicate clearly and in a classicizing fashion most famously in his response to Poliziano. Most humanists in Cortesi's era believed that ancient Latin had been, more or less, a natural language, one learned from birth, even if there were obviously differing levels of polish. Latin's ancient status as a spoken language and its consequent relation to *grammatica* remained an open question. As the fifteenth century progressed and the debate over imitation grew ever more sophisticated, the historical status of ancient Latin came increasingly under examination.⁹

Cortesi took these insights to their logical conclusion, or at least in hindsight it seems that way. He argued that those who used Latin in his day (as one must given its centrality as an international language of culture and diplomacy) were like strangers in a strange land, who need a guide. The manner in which Cortesi arrives at that point reveals much about the social circumstances in which humanist debate took place, even as the argument itself is a landmark in the history of the Latin language question in the Renaissance. Cortesi's real response, within this letter, begins when he unknowingly highlights something significant for those of us looking with hindsight on the problem of the Latin language for humanists. He never claimed to say, he tells Poliziano, that he only approved those who imitate Cicero (904–06). 'But', Cortesi goes on, 'since you are summoning me to this disputation, it might not be a waste of time to make my opinion clear, not to mention to defend my side, even as I recognize that your words were characteristic of one who wants to persuade, not to harm'.¹⁰

The word *disputatio*, as used here, has a rich significance that points backward, to the history and practice of medieval university life, even as it foregrounds something unique about the culture of humanism in the long fifteenth century, from the time when Petrarch (1304–74) was in full maturity to the 1520s, and Pietro Bembo's epoch-making work,

⁹ On imitation, see McLaughlin, (note 1) and Celenza C.S., "Petrarch, Latin, and Italian Renaissance Latinity", *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 35 (2005) 509–36.

¹⁰ Cortesi, in Garin, (note 1) 906: 'Sed quoniam me in hanc disputationem vocas, non erit fortasse alienum tempus purgandi iudicii nostri et tuendi mei, cum plane cognoscam verba tua esse suasoris, non lacessentis'.

the *Prose della volgar lingua*.¹¹ Humanists from this period, at their best, cultivated a style of thinking and writing that was, at its roots, public and hence dialogical. When transferred to the epistolary realm, this mentality implied that a letter, especially one as challenging as Poliziano's, demanded a response, a response that was to be tendered within a culture of public civility and polish in which protagonists could disagree strongly and remain on good terms, as we know Poliziano and Cortesi in fact did.

Arguments to support different positions mattered, and here Cortesi's point becomes clear as he weaves together metaphors of birth, growth, and loss. It can be assumed, Cortesi writes, given the state of the 'studia eloquentiae', that men of our day have 'almost lost their inborn voice' (... *et quasi nativam quandam vocem deesse*). Given this parlous situation, Cortesi has grown accustomed to arguing that 'in our day nothing can be said beautifully and in a variegated manner' if the people who have lost their voice 'do not propose for themselves someone to imitate, since pilgrims without a guide travel unskillfully in a strange land, and year-old infants cannot walk around unless they are in a carriage or are borne about by a nurse'.¹² Cortesi reflects a long tradition, and one that will continue to influence European literature: there were 'Giants in the earth in those days', and people of today, if they are lucky enough to see a bit farther than their ancestors, do so only by standing on the shoulders of those giants. Today's thinkers, in any case, cannot hope to attain those heights without aid.¹³

Good Latin is a specific kind of aid: nourishment. It is the sign of a sick stomach that its owner prefers poor food while shunning food that is healthy and of the best quality. Cortesi goes on: 'Even now,

¹¹ On the 'culture of the disputation', see Celenza C.S., *The Lost Italian Renaissance: Humanists, Historians, and Latin's Legacy* (Baltimore-London: 2004) 86-88.

¹² Cortesi, in Garin, (note 1) 906: 'Et primum de iudicio libenter fatebor, cum viderem eloquentiae studia tamdiu deserta iacuisse, et sublatum usum forensem, et quasi nativam quandam vocem deesse hominibus nostris, me saepe palam affirmasse nihil his temporibus ornate varieque dici posse, nisi ab iis qui aliquem sibi praeponerent ad imitandum, cum et peregrini expertes sermonis alienas regiones male possint sine duce peragrarare, et anniculi infantes non nisi in curriculo aut nutrice praeunte inambulent'.

¹³ Cf. *Genesis*, 6.4; Bernard of Chartres (ob. 1125), in John of Salisbury, *Metalogicon*, ed. C.J. Webb (Oxford: 1929) 136; Stock B., "Antiqui and Moderni as 'Giants' and 'Dwarfs': A Reflection of Popular Culture?" *Modern Philology* 76 (1979) 370-74; and for a broad study of this trope, Stephens W., *Giants in Those Days: Folklore, Ancient History, and Nationalism* (Lincoln: 1989).

I would dare to state the following, and to state it often: No one after Cicero garnered such praise for writing, except those reared and raised by him, almost as if it were done by the nourishment of milk'.¹⁴ Cortesi does not propose to imitate Cicero as an ape would a man, but rather as a son would a father.

For the ape, like a laughable imitator, portrays only the body's deformities and imperfections, whereas the son offers anew the face, the gait, the posture, the style of motion, the appearance, the voice, and finally the shape of the body, even as he possesses in the context of this similitude something of his own, that is inborn and different, to such a point that when they are compared one with the other they appear dissimilar.

The passage is worth looking at in detail:

Similem volo, mi Politiane, non ut simiam hominis, sed ut filium parentis. Illa enim ridicula imitatrix tantum deformitates et vitia corporis depravata similitudine effingit; hic autem vultum, incessum, statum, motum, formam, vocem denique et figuram corporis repraesentat, et tamen habet in hac similitudine aliquid suum, aliquid naturale, aliquid diversum, ita cum comparentur dissimiles inter se esse videantur. (Garin, 906)

There are a number of key words in this passage, *similitudo*, *effingo*, and *repraesento* among them, each of which can represent something done well or poorly.¹⁵ One 'expresses' (*effingo*) a *similitudo* well not when one imitates mechanically but rather when one 'offers anew' (*repraesento*) the model under discussion.

The physical metaphors continue in Cortesi's presentation. One can gather, from the flow of Cortesi's argument, that he believes it is necessary to see Cicero as a classic who was, in a sense, out of human proportion. His richness (*copiam*) was so evident and clear (*dilucidam*) that someone regarding Cicero's work believes Cicero to be imitable, even as the aspirant will always fall short of the ideal in the end.¹⁶ Cicero himself had argued for the exemplary function of the perfect orator in his own *Orator*: 'Consequently in delineating the perfect orator I shall

¹⁴ Cortesi, in Garin, (note 1) 906: 'Ausim nunc etiam affirmare idem quod saepe: neminem post Marcum Tullium in scribendo laudem consecutum praeter unum aut alterum, qui non sit ab eo eductus et tamquam lactis nutrimento educatus'.

¹⁵ The metaphor of filial imitation is present in Seneca, *Ep. Mor.*, 84.8: 'Etiam si cuius in te comparebit similitudo quem admiratio tibi altius fixerit, similem esse te volo quomodo filium, non quomodo imaginem: imago res mortua est'. On differing degrees of imitation, see Pigman, (note 1).

¹⁶ Ibid.: 'Dicam idem iterum: habere hoc dilucidam illam divini hominis in dicendo copiam, ut existimanti se imitabilem praebeat, experienti spem imitationis eripiat'.

be portraying such a one as perhaps has never existed'.¹⁷ For Cortesi, Cicero himself achieves the same level of exemplarity, and the problem is that contemporaries are not sufficiently aware of this fact. Men are naturally drawn to eloquence, Cortesi writes, but they never frame this aspiration within the parameters of their own ability, rather they simply desire it. When attempting to imitate Cicero's fluency of expression, his *facilitas*, then, they neglect (*deserunt*) his power and his sting, his *nervos et aculeos*. They wind up 'very far from Cicero'. It is useless to attempt to combine highlights from too many sorts of works. If one does so, what will emerge is something 'strange, whose disharmonious limbs do not hold together'.¹⁸ Many great writers of the ancient past have Ciceronian tendencies, from Livy to Lactantius, and all retain their individuality despite this fact. Again, Cicero seems almost outside the order of nature: 'one must think very seriously about the problem of imitation, esteeming Cicero to be a wondrous man (*hominem mirabilem*)', since 'from him so many different minds have flowed, as if from a kind of perennial fount'.¹⁹

The best authors, and Cicero is the best of the best, 'leave behind seeds' in the spirits of those who read them, and those seeds, later, grow on their own.²⁰ Those unwise thinkers who look to garner praise for their work without wanting to imitate anyone and without *similitudo* to anyone produce the worst sort of writing: 'at times they appear base and uncultivated (*sordidi et inculti*), at other times sumptuous and prosperous (*splendidi et florentes*)'. In this entire style of writing, it is as if 'a number of seeds that are absolutely inimical to one another were scattered about in one and the same field'.²¹ The project of literature,

¹⁷ Cic., *Or.*, 7 (tr. H.M. Hubbell): 'Atque ego in summo oratore fingendo talem informabo qualis fortasse nemo fuit'.

¹⁸ Cortesi, in Garin, (note 1) 908: 'Itaque dum abundantiam sermonis et, ut ipsi aiunt, facilitatem imitantur, nervos et aculeos deserunt, et tum a Cicerone absunt longissime.... Fit enim nescio quid monstruosum, cum membra cohaerentia male dissipantur'.

¹⁹ Ibid.: 'Ex quo intelligitur, maxime et cum iudicio ponderandam esse imitationem, et eum ipsum hominem mirabilem fuisse, ex quo tam diversa ingenia tamquam ex perenni quodam fonte defluerint'.

²⁰ Ibid., 910: 'Relinquant enim in animis semina, quae in posterum per seipsa coalescunt'.

²¹ Ibid.: 'Qui autem neminem imitari et sine cuiusquam similitudine laudem consequi videri volunt, nihil, mihi crede, roboris aut virium in scribendo prae se ferunt, et illi ipsi, qui se niti dicunt ingenii sui praesidiis et viribus, facere non possunt quin ex aliorum scriptis eruant sensus et inferant suis, ex quo nascitur maxime vitiosum scribendi genus, cum modo sordidi et inculti, modo splendidi et florentes appareant, et sic in toto genere tamquam in unum agrum plura inter se inimicissima sparsa semina'.

then, is one of constant, fertile retrospection and advance. True progress is only possible by re-elaborating a past tradition that, in its organic coherence, provides a model that in its variegated richness resembles nothing so much as a treasury.

This treasury, used correctly, provides learning as well as, inseparably, pleasure, and an inadequate prose, dissonant as it is, can bring no pleasure: 'What pleasure can be obtained by words whose meaning is too varied, oblique words, phrases that are broken up, a rough arrangement, an unfortunate metaphor that is too daring in its intention, or rhythms that have been intentionally interrupted?'²²

Moreover, the practice of imitating no one leads one to wander around aimlessly, whereas following a dependable guide leads one to stay on the straight way:

Now I believe there is as much of a difference between the man who imitates no one and the man who follows a dependable leader as there is between someone who roams around randomly and someone who travels on the straight way. The first, wandering in out of the way places, wallows in difficulties, whereas the other man without fault or trouble moves with intention from the course he has proposed to the place he needs to go.²³

It is worth exploring this notion of pleasure, combined as it is with the need for the author of spoken and written prose to be on the 'straight way'. Here as elsewhere Cortesi seems to be recapitulating certain features of this language debate that by the late fifteenth century comprised the question's genetic structure. There are echoes in this section of passages familiar to most humanists, in Cicero's *Orator*, where Cicero discussed the proper method of oratorical speech (and more generally, *oratio*, signifying also written prose), which, he wrote, should not be (195) 'in meter, as if it were a poem (*numerosa ut poema*)', or completely 'outside the realm of meter, like everyday speech [*or*, like the speech of the common people] (*extra numerum, ut sermo vulgi est*)'. Cicero continued:

²² Ibid.: 'Quid enim voluptatis afferre possunt ambiguae vocabulorum significationes, verba transversa, abruptae sententiae, structura salebrosa, audax translatio nec felix, ac intercisi de industria numeri?'

²³ Ibid.: 'Ego autem tantum interesse puto inter eum qui neminem imitatur et qui certum ducem consecratur, quantum inter eum qui temere vagetur et qui recta proficiscatur. Ille devius inter spinas volutatur, hic autem ex proposito itinere ad constitutum locum sine lapsu et molestia contendit'.

...alterum nimis est vinctum, ut de industria factum appareat, alterum nimis dissolutum, ut pervagatum ac vulgare videatur; ut ab altero non delectere, alterum oderis.

The one style seems too rhythmical,²⁴ so that it appears to have been done on purpose, the other seems too disconnected,²⁵ so that it appears common and ordinary; the result is that you would take no pleasure in the one style and hate the other.

Here, in Cortesi's statement, the echoes are contained in the language of pleasure (*quid enim voluptatis* and Cicero, *delectere*) as well as in the looser similarity between the words *vagetur* (Cortesi) and *pervagatum* (Cicero). Cicero's usage, in the latter case, of the word *pervagatum*, combined as it was with *vulgare*, referred to his idea that a prose completely free of rhythmic considerations would be 'common', that is, like everyday speech. Yet the roots of the words are similar, as are the fundamental points at issue: the language of prose mirrors the character of the speaker. Practice in prosody, which is necessary to develop a prose that is effective on its listeners and readers, implies self-control and work, which themselves imply a style of life, that would lead the practitioner to stay on the straight way and not wander about aimlessly.²⁶ Precisely some of these Ciceronian passages, and the layers of meaning behind them, were at issue in the history of this debate before Cortesi and Poliziano, as we shall see.

Finally, Cortesi points out, 'There is no one, my dear Poliziano, who has garnered praise for eloquence without having practiced some variety of imitation. Among the Greeks not only the orators Demosthenes, Hyperides, Lycurgus, Aeschines, and Deinarchus, but also the philosophers, those masters of virtue, meant to be imitators of

²⁴ Cf. Cic., *De or.*, 3.49.184–190 and Quint., 11.2.47 and 9.4.19, for this meaning of 'vinctum'.

²⁵ Cf. Quint., 2.11.7 and 8.6.62 for this meaning of 'dissolutum'.

²⁶ For 'practice', cf. Cic., *De or.*, 3.190: 'Hanc igitur, Crassus inquit, ad legem cum exercitatione tum stylo, qui et alia et hoc maxime ornat ac limat, formanda nobis oratio est'. The possibilities inherent in the *studia humanitatis*, especially rhetorically oriented moral philosophy, to allow one to lead a directed life, i.e., one that was not 'aimless', represented a topos in fifteenth-century humanist thought; it is expressed in Leonardo Bruni's *Isagogicon*, which I cite from the translation in G. Griffiths – J. Hankins – D. Thompson, *The Humanism* (note 4) 267–82, at 267: 'As it is, we generally make the mistake of living without a defined purpose, as though we were wandering about in the dark like blind men on whatever by-way chance should offer us, instead of traveling safely and confidently along the beaten track'.

someone'.²⁷ Cortesi's implication is that culture is really impossible without this process of intellectually fertile retrospection; and he is right on target with respect to philosophy as well. He and many others until the late eighteenth century saw philosophy in the mold of *diadochoi* or 'successions', whereby each individual school of philosophy had an acknowledged head. Later members of the school would elaborate what were believed to be that initial philosopher's key ideas in the only way deemed appropriate and possible: creative exegesis and imitation.²⁸

The association of pleasing Latinity with philosophy was something that Cortesi continued to reflect upon as the years went by, and he took it up anew in 1504, in his own commentary on the *Four Books of Sentences* of Peter Lombard.²⁹ Peter Lombard's *Sentences* gathered together excerpts from scripture, the church fathers, and other sources.³⁰ The collection was designed to cover theological matters both with respect to the *res* (the things themselves)—God, for example—and the *signa* (signs), such as sacraments. The *Sentences* formed part of the core of medieval theological speculation since the late twelfth century, were endorsed by the fourth Lateran Council under Innocent III in 1215, and most major high and late medieval scholastic thinkers tried their hand at a commentary.³¹ Cortesi took the opportunity of writing on the *Sentences* to attempt to bring eloquence to a task that, increasingly, had become a vehicle for ever more specialized speculation. His comments in the *Prooemium* are revealing, given what they reveal about his attitudes toward true philosophy.³² Dedicating his treatise to the newly elected

²⁷ Cortesi, in Garin, (note 1) 910: 'Praeterea, Politiane, sic habere neminem eloquentiae laudem consecutum, qui non sit in aliquo imitationis generis versatus. Apud Graecos non modo oratores Demosthenes, Hyperides, Lycurgus, Aeschines et Deinarchus, sed etiam illi philosophi, virtutum magistri, alicuius imitatores esse voluerunt'.

²⁸ On this point, see Celenza C.S., "Petrarch, Latin..." (note 9) and Idem, "Lorenzo Valla and the Traditions and Transmissions of Philosophy", *Journal of the History of Ideas* (2005) 483–506; see also Hadot P., *Philosophy as a Way of Life*, ed. A.I. Davidson, tr. M. Chase (London: 1995) 71–7.

²⁹ Cf. Moss A., *Renaissance Truth and the Latin Language Turn* (Oxford: 2003) 64–68.

³⁰ See Petrus Lombardus, *Sententiae in IV libris distinctae*, ed. V. Doucet, 2 vols. (Grottaferrata: 1971–81); Colish M., *Peter Lombard*, 2 vols. (Leiden: 1994).

³¹ Cf. Stegmüller F., *Repertorium commentariorum in Sententias Petri Lombardi*, 2 vols. (Würzburg: 1947); Doucet V., *Supplément au Répertoire de M. Frédéric Stegmüller* (Florence: 1954).

³² Cf. Farris G., *Eloquenza e teologia nel 'Prooemium in librum primum sententiarum' di Paolo Cortese*, Quaderni di civiltà letteraria (Savona: 1972), who offers an edition of the *prooemium*, drawn from Cortesi P., *In quattuor libris sententiarum* (Basel: 1540), from which I cite.

Julius II, Cortesi writes: 'For some time now, great Pope, there has been the greatest controversy among men, as to whether philosophers should employ grace of Latin speaking style in their studies'.³³ Cortesi suggests that different solutions have been proposed. Some philosophers believe that it is their province to invent words at will, that they should have as much freedom as did the ancients, not wanting to be too constricted in their choices.³⁴ 'However, some' Cortesi goes on,

think that philosophy is like a kind of marble edifice, and they believe that there is no justification for covering it up with superficially flattering stucco, even as they think it is not right to besmear the radiance of a very beautiful face with make-up. [cf. Cic., *Or.*, 78] To some, who are even harsher in judgment, a philosophy that is rather obscure and stern seems pleasing, one that is neither welcoming to those who approach it nor ready to give up its riches with largess to the crowd.³⁵

Given that philosophy is something of great moment, Cortesi writes, it is against these sorts of thinkers that the will take up arms.³⁶

These later reflections of Cortesi indicate something important: the diversity of opinion between Poliziano and Cortesi with respect to the proper style of Latin prose should not be overdrawn and turned into something that might seem to reflect a different underlying message. In many respects, Poliziano is in exact agreement about the core principles: creativity meant not so much a break with the past as an individual expression of what was useful and best about that past. He and Cortesi would agree completely on the necessity of true philosophers to engage in this process of creatively using the past; and they both would insist that, since the search for wisdom is important for humankind, its messages needed to be communicated in a way that is clear and relevant to contemporary society. After this debate, Poliziano argued for just

³³ Ed. G. Farris, (note 32) 22: 'Diu Pont. Max. summa est hominum contentione certatum, Philosophorum ne esset studiis latini sermonis adhibendus nitor...'

³⁴ Ibid.: 'Sunt enim multi philosophi qui cum facultatem verborum faciendorum voluntariam esse opinentur nihiloque minus eis in pariendo licere quam priscis illis licitum fuerit arbitrentur; negant quicquam esse causae cur verborum pariendorum licentiam priscorum angustiis praefiniri velint'.

³⁵ Ibid.: 'Nonnulli autem cum philosophiam quasi marmoream quandam aedem constituent, nullo modo ei tectorium induci debere censent, nec fas esse putent pulcherrimi vultus candori illiniri fucum. Quibusdam etiam severioribus, philosophiam squalidiorem et horridiorem esse placet, quae nec aspectu invitet adeuntes, nec opes vulgo largiendo effundat'.

³⁶ Ibid.: 'In quo quidem cum permagna res agatur utilitatis hominum, causa est contra eos arma capiendi'.

these ideas in his *Lamia*, though there too, he expressed a worry that was probably at the root of his real objection to Cortesi in this earlier letter exchange.³⁷ It was not so much imitation that worried Poliziano as intellectual sterility. Poliziano's primary concern was the tendency of intellectuals to cease reflection once caught up in a tradition that by repeated practice became too rigid in its fundamental assumptions. These institutionally reproduced traditions often prove unresponsive to history, that is, to the need for intellectuals to adapt to changing circumstances. The two thinkers agreed on that much.

Their debate, however, is noteworthy for two reasons: first, in the long run it was Cortesi's position that won out, finding expression *de facto* in the way Latin prose was taught and used institutionally thereafter: a moderate Ciceronianism was the Latin style taught and used in schools, universities, and academies.³⁸ This style was moderate in the sense that its practitioners made allowances for necessary neologisms and therefore did not consider the Ciceronian lexicon the only possible one among ancient authors used as models. Still, the basic periodic structure and word order of the Ciceronian sentence remained the school model, and hence the model for elite Latinity, in the old world and the new, until relatively modern times.³⁹

Second, Poliziano's conception of creativity, expressed here so curtly and in fact without a lot of sustained thought as to the specific matter at hand, itself lived on, the ontogenetic result of about five intellectual generations of humanist striving. This conception entailed that thinkers must constantly be engaged in a process of Socratic self-examination, always on the lookout that the traditions and ideas they had inherited did not become fixed ideas, repeated only because a respected master had taught them. In the world of Italian humanism, however, this mentality found expression, in the generation after Poliziano, in the vernacular rather than in Latin. This result, and the subsequent, eventual death of Latin as a language of creative literature in Italy, compels us to look back on the history of the humanist debate on the status of the Latin language, beginning with Leonardo Bruni and Biondo Flavio.

³⁷ For the following view of the message of the *Lamia*, see Celenza C.S., "Petrarch, Latin..." (note 9) 522–26. For the text see Poliziano A., *Lamia: Praelectio in priora Aristotelis analytica*, ed. A. Wesseling (Leiden: 1986).

³⁸ On this point, see Monfasani J., "The Ciceronian Controversy" (note 3).

³⁹ On the fortunes of Latinity, see Wacquet F., *Latin: Or, the Empire of a Sign*, tr. J. Howe (London-New York: 2001).

II

1435. The papal court, resident in Florence at the time, was becoming a lively center of intellectual exchange, in which leading intellectuals created and took part in debates over matters ranging from wealth and its function in the church to scholarly questions related to history of the Latin language. It was one of these latter questions that preoccupied the apostolic secretaries (at that time six in number, and a true intellectual elite) in the early part of that year, a question that gave rise to the first sustained humanist debate on the topic of the registers of Latinity among the ancient Romans.⁴⁰ 'Among the learned men of our age', wrote Biondo Flavio to Bruni, 'there is great discussion and indeed debate at which I have often been present, as to whether the Romans were accustomed to speak in the mother tongue, which is commonly used everywhere in our day by the unpolished and uneducated crowd, or whether, instead, they spoke by making use of 'the grammatical art'—what we call 'Latin'".⁴¹ Biondo takes pains to locate a specific conversation that occurred among himself, Bruni, Antonio Loschi, Poggio Bracciolini, Cencio de' Rustici, and Andrea da Firenze. 'If I remember correctly, Loschi and Cencio seemed to agree with you that the Romans possessed a style of speaking that was ordinary and common to the people, as in later ages. Because of this, even the most learned orators left to posterity what they called 'orations'. These were compositions that they had delivered in spoken form to the people, which they then, after quite a lot of labor, rendered into 'grammatical' Latinity'.⁴²

Biondo makes a number of arguments supporting his notion that ancient Latin was a unitary language, spoken in more or less the same way as it was written. We hear in Cicero's *Orator* (195, as above) that there are essentially three registers of Latin discourse, or *oratio*. 'Oratio', Cicero writes, should be neither 'metrical [*numerosa*] like a poem, nor

⁴⁰ My analysis in the following section follows the selection of texts in Tavoni. Important contributions to this problem can be found in Mazzocco, (note 1).

⁴¹ Biondo in Tavoni, (note 1) 198: 'Magna est apud doctos aetatis nostrae homines altercatio, et cui saepenumero interfuerim contentio, materno ne et passim apud rudem indoctamque multitudinem aetate nostra vulgato idiomate, an grammaticae artis usu, quod latinum appellamus, instituto loquendi more Romani orare fuerint soliti'.

⁴² Ibid.: 'Tecum enim, si recte memini, Luscus et Cintius sentire videbantur, vulgare quoddam et plebeium, ut posteriora habuerunt saecula, Romanis fuisse loquendi genus a litteris remotum, quo doctissimi etiam oratores apud populum illas dicerent orationes, quas postmodum multa lucubratione in grammaticam latinitatem redactas posteris reliquerunt'.

completely un-metrical, like the speech of the crowd'. *Oratio*, instead, falls between those two registers, somewhat rhythmical but not too rhythmical, so that it appears to have been done on purpose, nor too disconnected so that it appears common and ordinary'. This set of propositions, for Biondo, represents the core of the matter.⁴³ The ancient recognition of the existence of three registers of Latin shows, for Biondo, that Latin was one language, differently spoken and used according to context and social situation, but not so different as modern vernaculars are from Latin.

Biondo's base texts for his various assertions are Cicero's *Brutus* and *Orator*, both of which became increasingly important for humanists after being rediscovered in 1421 at Lodi. From the *Brutus*, Cicero's recounting in dialogue form of different ancient orators and their styles, Biondo gathers that there were instances of ancients who could speak well in public, even though they were not *literati*, educated in literature and language. One example would be Curio, who according to Cicero in the *Brutus* (210) though he 'knew nothing of literature' was the 'third best speaker of his day' and spoke 'not the worst Latin' because of what he had heard in his household growing up. Biondo comments:

If household usage has such an impact that without learning or literature it could make out of Curio someone who did not speak 'the worst Latin', who used 'rather elegant words' and who was the third best orator of the City, then it is not possible that the language he heard at home was *not* Latin.⁴⁴

Biondo continues, going over Cicero's account of the Gracchi, whose mother Cornelia shows by her letters to have provided them with a high level of discourse at home. Addressing Bruni, Biondo writes: 'You have heard that it makes a great difference whom one hears at home, with whom one speaks'.⁴⁵ The example of the Florentines shows this fact, since those who have been raised in the city of Florence are much more eloquent than people raised from without. It was the same among the Romans, for Biondo. Those raised in the right way, even women (like

⁴³ Tavoni, (note 1) 203: 'Hic, Aretine clarissime, hic altum sunt mihi iacenda quaestionis propositae fundamenta'.

⁴⁴ Biondo, in Tavoni, (note 1) 205: 'Si tantam itaque vim domesticus habebat usus, ut sine doctrina, sine litteris non pessime latine loquentem splendidioribus uti verbis et tertium urbis oratorem faceret Curionem, non latinus esse non potuit sermo ille domesticus'.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 206: 'Magni interesse audivisti, quod quisque domi audiat, quibuscum loquatur...'.

Cornelia and Laelia among others), could achieve a high level of Latin discourse, even without specific literary training.⁴⁶

There may have been different registers, for Biondo, but in the case of spoken orations we must concede, he argues, 'that the words, as they were spoken, were Latin of the sort that we now call 'literate''.⁴⁷ Given this fact, and given that there were audiences for both oratory and poetic theater, it must be the case that a broad swath of the population understood the language.

The case of theater is revealing, for Biondo. Again taking his point of departure from Cicero's *Orator* (173 and 183), Biondo reminds Bruni of Cicero's observation concerning the natural nature of verse. 'In verse', Biondo writes, quoting Cicero, 'the whole theater bursts out if one syllable is too short or too long'. Even if the audience cannot understand exactly what it is that is bothering them or why, nature herself has implanted in us the ability to judge both the quantities of syllables and the length of vowels.⁴⁸ Biondo emphasizes this point as well, in order to buttress his case: the natural knowledge of these matters shows that ancient Latin was unitary, and people at all levels could understand it, even if what they took away from what they heard would obviously vary according to ability.

Biondo's closing argument, though short, is perhaps his most interesting of all, since it is there where he introduces the idea of a historical rupture. This notion of rupture and the concomitant if sometimes implicit foregrounding of historical change seem, in retrospect, the basic undercurrent of the fifteenth-century debate on the Latin language. The central question is: are 'we moderns' truly differently situated, at a base level, than the ancients whom we revere? Biondo phrases the issue in this way:

I see that I have one last problem to resolve: why is it, in what era, and because of what causes do I believe that we have exchanged what was among the ancients, as I have tried to show, a universal knowledge of Latin, for our current common language?⁴⁹

⁴⁶ Ibid., 206–07.

⁴⁷ Ibid., 208: 'Constet vero primum inter nos necessarium est, sive grandibus, sive abiectis, sive dissipatis, sive coercitis ratione verbis oratum fuerit, verba orationum, dum pronunciarentur, fuisse Latina, qualia nunc dicimus litterata'.

⁴⁸ Ibid., 210.

⁴⁹ Ibid., 214 (punctuation slightly altered): 'Extremam mihi restare video responsionem: qua ratione, quibus temporibus causisque factum credam, ut vulgaritatem hanc nostram cum universae multitudinis latinitate, quam ostendere conatus sum apud priscos fuisse, permutaverimus'.

Biondo's answer seems almost an afterthought to his other arguments, given its length. He recalls a passage from Cicero's *Brutus* (258), which given its importance is worth fleshing out more fully than Biondo himself does.

Cicero's interlocutor Pomponius has the floor. Discussing the importance of oratory, he suggests that the 'orator's ground... and foundation, you see, is a diction that is correct and purely Latin'. Those who have earned a reputation for this level of Latinity have garnered their praise not because of 'rules and theory but because of good usage [*rationis et scientiae, sed quasi bonae consuetudinis*]'.⁵⁰ There was a time, Pomponius went on, when almost every Roman was naturally endowed with a reasonable level of Latinity, unless he had perchance spent much time away from Rome or if there were mitigating circumstances at home. Now, however, this situation no longer obtains so commonly. But in Athens and in Rome there has been an influx of impure speakers, so that the time has arrived for a 'purging of the language' [*expurgandus est sermo*] and a 'set of theoretical arguments [*ratio*] that must be adhered to, almost as a proof that cannot change; nor should one employ that most easily degradable rule: custom'.⁵¹ Even in antiquity, in other words, it was theoretically imaginable to create a theory of an immutable language subject to rules. It is also noteworthy that the desire for this process of freezing the language was connected with a lost, imagined era of purity that could now be recuperated only with great effort.

This argument struck Biondo so much that it comes near the end of his treatise. Biondo phrases it this way, paraphrasing Cicero:

You see that in the times that had preceded Cicero's era, those who either lived outside of Rome or who had something of the foreign within their homes, in a certain respect departed from the eloquence of Roman speech, so that they were tarnished by that foreignness.⁵²

⁵⁰ Cicero, *Brutus*, ed. G.L. Hendrickson (Cambridge, Mass.-London: 1962), p. 222, sec. 258: 'Solum quidem, inquit ille, et quasi fundamentum oratoris vides, locutionem emendatam et Latinam, cuius penes quos laus adhuc fuit, non fuit rationis aut scientiae, sed quasi bonae consuetudinis'.

⁵¹ Ibid.: 'Confluxerunt enim et Athenas et in hanc urbem multi inquinatae loquentes ex diversis locis. Quo magis expurgandus est sermo et adhibenda tamquam obrussa ratio, quae mutari non potest, nec utendum pravissima consuetudinis regula'.

⁵² Biondo, in Tavoni, (note 1) 214: 'Temporibus vides quae Ciceronis aetatem praecesserant illos qui aut extra Romam vixerant, aut Romae domesticam habuerant aliquam barbariem, a nitore locutionis romanae aliquantulum recessisse, et barbarie illa infusatos fuisse'.

If it is true that even in Cicero's day certain foreign traces could be perceived in the use of the Latin language, historical circumstances changed this situation immeasurably:

But after the City of Rome was taken by Goths and Vandals and began to be inhabited by them, it was not only one or two men who were tarnished, but rather everyone who was polluted and indeed made deeply impure [*penitus sordidati*] by foreign speech. So it gradually happened that, in place of Roman Latinity, we have this common vernacular that has been mixed together with foreign Latinity [*barbarica*, i.e., *latinitate*], that has the character of something inauthentic.⁵³

Biondo soon thereafter signs off on his letter to Bruni, awaiting Bruni's response. Yet in this last argument something important occurred in the Renaissance Latin language question, something that eventually, in its own subterranean way, had an impact on the language question overall. Biondo introduced the notion of the historical evolution of language. It is true that he framed the question in terms of 'foreignness' (*barbaries*) versus genuine Roman Latinity, so that the notion of a possible restoration of ancient authenticity was still implicitly thinkable. And it is also true, as we shall see, that this notion was present in medieval sources, such as Isidore of Seville. Yet the notion of historical change remained a touchstone of the debate in many fifteenth-century thinkers' discussions.

Bruni's letter of response is shorter than Biondo's query. Its tone reflects Bruni's clarity of mind, even as the letter as a whole reveals Bruni's views regarding the social functions of language. At the outset Bruni wants to clarify the question at issue, both in terms of its basic premises and in terms of its temporal limits. As to the issue itself:

... You think that, for the ancients, there was one and the same language for all, not one language that was a common vernacular and another that was a learned language. I, on the other hand, believe that, just as it is now, the common vernacular was distinct from the learned language.⁵⁴

⁵³ Ibid., 214–15: 'Postea vero quam urbs a Gothis et Vandalis capta inhabitarique coepta est, non unus iam aut duo infuscati, sed omnes sermone barbaro inquinati ac penitus sordidati fuerunt; sensimque factum est, ut pro romana latinitate adulterinam hanc barbarica mixtam loquelam habeamus vulgarem'.

⁵⁴ Bruni, in Tavoni, (note 1) 216: 'Quaestio nostra in eo consistit, quod tu apud veteres unum eundemque fuisse sermonem omnium putas, nec alium vulgarem, alium litteratum. Ego autem, ut nunc est, sic etiam tunc distinctam fuisse vulgarem linguam a litterata existimo'.

As to the temporal limits:

It is also rather important, if you don't mind, that we delineate the question in such a way that it refers to a certain time and place. For when one says 'for the ancients', one really is not designating either the time or the place with enough certainty. Let the question then, be the following: whether, in Rome, in the era of the poet Terence and of Cicero, the common people spoke in such a way as those whom we now say speak in a way that is 'Latin' [*latine*] and 'learned' [*litterate*] or whether there was one language for the crowd and another for those who were learned.⁵⁵

Bruni's arguments are telling in a number of ways. He answers Biondo's assertions by boiling them down to their essential points.

As to oratory, Bruni suggests that when it came to public governmental bodies like the senate and the courts, the audience was primarily composed of learned men, so that Biondo's arguments do not apply. When it came to the assembly (the *concio*), which included both the learned and the unlearned, even there the orator was mainly addressing not the 'bakers and gladiators' but rather 'those who were accustomed to governing the republic'.⁵⁶ The lower orders present understood what was going on in the same way that today, Bruni suggests, the unlearned understand the Mass.⁵⁷

Bruni makes another point with respect to oratory that touches on the importance of written culture and the way that oral composition does not represent a definitive version of a speech:

We should not let the fact escape us that the orators themselves wrote their orations down in a manner different from the way they spoke.... It is not that they wrote down something that was completely different but rather that they wrote down what they had said in a way that was more adorned and more elegant. The result was that what they said in the assembly in words that were, perhaps, common and open and thus easy

⁵⁵ Ibid.: 'Pressius quoque, si placet, ita circumscribamus, ut certo tempore locoque diffiniantur. Nam qui apud veteres dicit nec tempus nec locum satis certum designat. Sit igitur quaestio utrum Romae per Terentii poetae et M. Tullii tempora vulgus ita loquebatur ut loquuntur hi quos nunc latine litterateque loqui dicimus, vel alius fuerit vulgi sermo, alius litteratorum'.

⁵⁶ Ibid., 217: 'Itaque non ad pistorum tantum et lanistas, sed multo magis ad eos qui in reipublicae gubernatione versabantur, et quorum intererat quid populus decerneret, orator loquebatur'.

⁵⁷ Ibid.: '...pistores vero et lanistae et huiusmodi turba sic intelligebant oratoris verba ut nunc intelligunt Missarum solemnia'.

to understand, are read in written form in a way that is more polished [*limatius*] and more compressed [*contractius*].⁵⁸

For Bruni, learned orators in the senate and court were speaking in a fully literate way. Yet in the assembly, as well, they directed their words to those in the know [*ad scientes*], allowing the unlearned then present in the assembly to understand the discourse as the common people today understand the Latin Mass.⁵⁹

When it came to the issue of poetry and the audience's natural comprehension of meter in theatrical productions, Bruni could not be clearer: 'You think the crowd came together to *understand* the poet's works. I on the other hand think they came to watch the plays'.⁶⁰ The plays always included great spectacle, with the use of gestures, masks, and music. Even the prefaces to the works of Plautus and Terence clue us in to the extensive use of visual resources, as they describe the play's action and scenery.⁶¹ In the end, 'Nothing of the poet's work and no part of their drama was relevant to the speech of the common people. The common people did not seek an understanding of the words but rather the spectacle of the presentations'.⁶² Bruni believes, essentially, in a fixed language system, tied to the inevitable divisions of society. On the one hand, there is the elite: its members rule, are learned enough to govern actively in an oratorical culture, and in public situations transmit messages fundamentally only to each other. On the other, there are the masses: they are subject to rule, interested in spectacle, and able to comprehend complex argumentation only within certain limits.

Bruni's key exemplar of this lower community is represented not by 'bakers and gladiators', as earlier, but by women:

⁵⁸ Ibid. (punctuation slightly modified): 'Nam illud nos latere non debet, oratores ipsos aliter scripsisse orationes suas quam dixerant, quod et apud Graecos et apud Latinos exploratissimum est; non quod diversum scriberent, sed quod ornatus et comptius id ipsum quod dixerant litteris mandabant, ut quaedam in concione dicta verbis forsan vulgatis et apertis et ad intelligentiam accomodatis, limatius postea contractiusque scripta legantur'.

⁵⁹ Ibid.: 'In senatu enim et iudiciis ad scientes litteras loquebantur [*sc. oratores*] litterate, in concionibus vero etiam ad scientes'.

⁶⁰ Ibid.: 'Tu enim turbam convenisse putas ad carmina poetae intelligenda, ego autem convenisse puto ad ludos scenicos spectandos'.

⁶¹ Ibid., 217–18.

⁶² Ibid.: 'Nichil igitur poetae, nichil eorum fabulae ad sermonem vulgi pertinent. Non enim intellectum verborum, sed spectaculum ludorum vulgus sequebatur'.

I ask you, Flavio, since you are a man who is both learned and well polished when it comes to literature, as well as those who agree with you: can you really get it in your head to believe that nursemaids, little women, and this sort of crowd were born back then in such a way that without the aid of teachers they comprehended things that we understand with so much help from teachers and with so much practice? And that they did so in the same way that those who speak in the way we term 'Latin' and 'learned' understand such things? And that they understood the poets' comedies without anyone teaching them previously?

Bruni answers his own rhetorical question: 'It is utterly absurd to think so'.⁶³

Part of the reason for the existence of these diverse language communities has to do with the Latin language's complexity, the full extent of which simply could not, in Bruni's eyes, be grasped by those without formal education, since it was not a natural language. Bruni uses his example of 'little women' to clinch his argument. This fact is revealing. It is a truism to state it, but it is no less noteworthy that, like most people in the west before the twentieth century, and like many in the world today, Bruni lived in a society in which there was strong gender separation. Men and women simply did not interact to the extent that this interaction occurs today, and for Bruni it was unimaginable to conceive of any but the most elite women taking part in the fundamentally public style of education that Latin entailed.

Vernaculars and Latin are fundamentally different in Bruni's view. Unlike the vernacular, Bruni comments, Latin is inflected, its verbs decline, and its words have a wide variety of meanings. '*Fero*', Bruni writes, 'is a verb and from it' one has the principal parts '*tuli*' and '*latum*' and their derivative correlates '*sustuli*' and '*sublatum*'.⁶⁴ Both '*abfuit*' and '*defuit*' designate that someone was absent, but the first carries with it a positive connotation, the second a negative connotation.⁶⁵ 'I ask you, did the little women, nursemaids, and the illiterate

⁶³ Ibid., 218–19 (punctuation slightly altered): 'Tu ne quaeso, Flavi, cum sis vir doctus ac litteris expolitus, vel alii qui tecum sentiunt, animum inducere potestis ut credatis nutrices et mulierculas et huiusmodi turbam ita tunc nasci ut quae nos tot magistris, tanto usu vix tenemus, illi nullis magistris assequerentur, ut eo modo loquerentur, quemadmodum hi qui latine litterateque loquuntur, intelligerentque poetarum comoedias nullo prius eos docente? Profecto valde absurdum est ita credere'.

⁶⁴ Ibid., 219: '*Fero* verbum est, a quo *tuli*, *latum*, *sustuli*, *sublatum*'.

⁶⁵ Ibid.: '*Abfuit* et *defuit* duo sunt, quorum alterum laudem, alterum vituperationem significat'.

common people really say these things, things that even we who are learned can barely say?⁶⁶

As to the examples adduced by Biondo via Cicero, to the effect that there were some in ancient Rome who could speak well but who were known not to have any literary training, Bruni argues that those were exceptions.⁶⁷ He does concede that having literate people in one's household will have its effects: 'I admit it: if relatives and servants are learned [*literati*] and mothers are elegant [*elegantes*] they can aid in the eloquence of their sons'.⁶⁸ Bruni goes on to commend the ability of contemporary Roman women to speak well, in a way that is purer than Roman men. Still, he is careful to point out that these Roman women of today are speaking a *vernacular*. 'It is not that they are inflecting the cases of their nouns, varying their verb forms, or saying word-endings in a literate way, but rather that they pour forth with a speech that is pure, clean, not the least foreign-seeming'.⁶⁹ In the same vein, Bruni goes on: 'Even the vernacular has its own excellence, as one sees in Dante and certain others who speak in a pure fashion'.⁷⁰

What Bruni will not, indeed cannot, concede is that Latin ever was a vernacular, a common language spoken by all and learned primarily by daily interactions, with schooling existing only for polish. It is a telling fact that the only one of Biondo's arguments that Bruni does not answer is Biondo's last major one: that the language spoken at Rome underwent historical evolution, an evolution that became decisive after the barbarian invasions. In many ways Bruni remained firmly tied to the high and late medieval notion that Latin was a *lingua artificialis*, a language of craft, which possessed, notionally, its own set of invariable rules (wrongly employed and imperfectly discovered as those rules might have been, in Bruni's view, by his medieval predecessors).

⁶⁶ Ibid.: 'Haec ne quaeso mulierculae et nutrices et vulgus illiteratum dicent, quae nos literati vix dicere valemus?'

⁶⁷ Ibid., 220.

⁶⁸ Ibid.: 'Fateor: parentes enim literati, et servi, matres etiam si elegantes sunt, adiuuare eloquentiam filiorum possunt'.

⁶⁹ Ibid., 221: 'Non quod casus inflecterent, aut verba variarent ac terminarent literate, sed quod purum et nitidum ac minime barbarum sermonem infunderent'.

⁷⁰ Ibid., 221: 'Nam et habet vulgaris sermo commendationem suam, ut apud Dantem poetam et alios quosdam emendate loquentes apparet'. Cf. Leonardo Bruni L., *Humanistisch-philosophische Schriften* (note 4) 61: 'Ciascuna lingua ha la sua perfezione e suo suono, e suo parlare limato e scientifico'; and McLaughlin, (note 1) 93.

Bruni, in this latter respect, was much like his mentor and predecessor as Chancellor of Florence, Coluccio Salutati (1331–1406). In the last year of his life Salutati found himself fending off the implicit and explicit attacks launched by the Dominican Giovanni Dominici (1356–1420). Dominici, in his *Lucula Noctis*, had not so much condemned the study of ancient pagan authors as warned against excesses, arguing that students who devoted too much time to pagan authors might lose sight of true Christianity's essential messages.⁷¹ Salutati, in his unfinished response, stressed that Latin, as *grammatica*, had been an invention of ancient pagan thinkers.⁷² Early Christians had profited from this invention (as they had from the invention of Greek) since it allowed them to spread their message among varied constituencies in a uniform way. Latin as such represented the vessel of a foundational culture, which for Salutati was Christian. His main criticism of Dominici is that an ignorance of Latin on the part of the religious makes them unable fully to understand early Christian texts.⁷³ For Bruni, Latin was also the foundation of culture, though he neither tied Latin's centrality to Christianity nor made pronouncements about the invention of Latin. Yet the main message, regarding Latin's status, is similar: Latin exists (now as it had in the ancient past) as a uniform language of culture, to be employed by the leaders of that culture as an instrument.

III

Around the same time as Bruni's epistolary musings and rooted in the same lively conversations that were taking place in and around the papal court, came the intervention into this discussion of Leon Battista Alberti, in the preface to book three of his *Della famiglia*, which dates from 1437. At the center of Alberti's theories is recognition of

⁷¹ See Dominici G., *Iohannis Dominici Lucula noctis*, (ed.) E. Hunt (Notre Dame, Indiana: 1940).

⁷² Coluccio Salutati, *Epistolario*, ed. F. Novati, 4 vols. in 5 (Rome: 1891–1911) 4: 216, as cited in Rizzo, S., *Ricerche* (note 1) 21: 'An dicere potest aliquis litteras atque grammaticam inventionem non esse Gentilium et, si prohibentur Christianis ista studia, non etiam ipsam grammaticam inhiberi'? See also Rizzo, S., *Ricerche* (note 1) 15–27 for an outstanding overview.

⁷³ Coluccio Salutati, *Epistolario*, 4: 220, as cited in Rizzo, S., *Ricerche* (note 1) 22: 'Quo fit ut latine loqui nesciant [*i.e.*, religiosi] et ipsas sacras litteras et dicta doctorum ad intelligentiam non capeant'.

historical change linked to a focus on the utility of discourse to society. At the outset he, unlike Bruni, addresses the historical argument that Biondo had earlier put forward. Why was it that the Latin language fell into disuse? 'Italy was occupied and possessed more than once by various peoples: Gauls, Goths, Vandals, Lombards, and other similarly barbarous ones who were extremely harsh'.⁷⁴ The invasions occurred. In order to facilitate communication among different language communities, Latin speakers learned other languages and the newly arrived peoples learned Latin, though the foreigners learned Latin, 'I believe, with many barbarisms and corruption in the pronunciation. Because of this mixture our language, which once was quite cultivated and refined, gradually became rough and spoiled'.⁷⁵

Alberti's disagreement with Bruni becomes clear as he goes on:

Here I cannot agree with those who, wondering at this great loss [of the Latin language], argue that in those days and even before in Italy there was always this one common language, such as we employ today. They go on to say that they cannot believe that in those days women knew as many things as, today, there are in that Latin language which is most difficult and obscure even to the most learned. And so they conclude that the language in which the learned wrote was almost an art and an invention of the schools, that was generally but not thoroughly understood by many.⁷⁶

Alberti offers a markedly different theory here from that expressed by Bruni, especially in so far as he differs from the notion, as he puts

⁷⁴ Alberti, in Patota, (note 1) 6: 'Fu Italia più volte occupata e posseduta da varie nazioni: Gallici, Goti, Vandali, Longobardi, e altre simili barbare e molto asprissime genti'. See Patota, (note 1) 6, n. 18 on the meanings of 'nazioni' and 'genti' as 'peoples'.

⁷⁵ Ibid., 6-7: 'Onde per questa mistura di di in di insalvatichi e viziosi la nostra prima cultissima ed emendatissima lingua'. Alberti does not continue with this argument in the way that Pietro Bembo later did in his *Prose della volgar lingua*, whereby the Italian vernacular was born of the interchange between natives and barbarians; Bembo P., *Prose della volgar lingua*, ed. C. Dionisotti (Turin: 1966) 86: 'Del come, non si può errare a dire che, essendo la romana lingua e quelle de' Barbari tra sè lontanissime, essi a poco a poco della nostra ora une ora altre voci, e queste troncamente e imperfettamente pigliando, e noi apprendendo similmente delle loro, se ne formasse in processo di tempo e nascessene una nuova, la quale alcuno odore e dell'una e dell'altra ritenesse, che questa volgare è, che ora usiamo'.

⁷⁶ Ibid., 7: 'Né a me qui pare da udire coloro, e quali di tanta perdita maravigliandosi, affermano in que' tempi e prima sempre in Italia essere stata questa una qual oggi adoperiamo lingua commune, e dicono non poter credere che in que' tempi le femmine sapessero quante cose oggi sono in quella lingua latina molto a' bene dottissimi difficile e oscure, e per questo concludono la lingua in quale scrissero e dotti essere una quasi arte e invenzione scolastica più tosto intesa che saputa da molti'.

it, that even ancient Latin was 'almost an art and an invention of the schools [*una quasi arte e invenzione scolastica...*]'.

If one ponders the significance in Alberti's Tuscan of the word 'arte', the associations that come to mind are revealing. The word had the standard Latinate resonance, that of 'craft', easily leading one to think of Latin as a *lingua artificialis*, a notion against which Alberti is arguing here. It is worth noting that the word 'arte' also meant 'guild' in Alberti's day. Here one observes Alberti's lifelong sense of being an outsider, one who always objected to the tendency of people to gather into groups, a practice that then led them to lead a life that was unexamined, conditioned more by their association with a group than with a tendency to seek individual distinction.

A few years later, after being insulted at the 1441 *Certame coronario* (the vernacular poetry contest held in Florence at Alberti's instigation), where the judges famously declined to award a prize, thinking the entries all too frivolous, Alberti wrote his *Grammatichetta*.⁷⁷ This work, the first grammar of the Florentine vernacular, began with similar words, when he spoke there of "Those who argue that the Latin language was not common to all the Latin peoples but belonged only to certain learned men of the schools".⁷⁸ There he laid out what seemed to him, in a synchronic and proscriptive fashion, the essential characteristics of Tuscan.

Alberti's earlier argument, in the *Libri della famiglia*, explicitly points not only to the historical reasons, but also to the social functions and utility of language. 'Why', Alberti writes, 'would ancient writers have sought, with so much effort, to be useful to all of their fellow-citizens writing in a language that few understood?'⁷⁹ Here again Alberti will take this same line of reasoning up briefly in his *Grammatichetta*, when he writes that the Latin language 'is today the possession of few [*come hoggi la vediamo in pochi*]'.

The argument, shared between his two interventions, is that the learned can make the vernacular 'refined

⁷⁷ On the *Certame Coronario*, see Gorni G., "Storia del Certame Coronario", *Rinascimento* ser. 2, 12 (1972) 135–81.

⁷⁸ Alberti, in Patota, (note 1) 15: 'Que' che affermano la lingua latina non essere stata comune a tutti e' populi latini, ma solo propria di certi docti scolastici, come hoggi la vediamo in pochi, credo deporranno quello errore, vedendo questo nostro opuscolo, in quale io raccolsi l'uso della lingua nostra in brevissime annotationi'.

⁷⁹ Ibid., 9: 'E con che ragione arebbono gli antichi scrittori cerco con sì lunga fatica essere utili a tutti e suoi cittadini scrivendo in lingua da pochi conosciuta?'

and polished [*elimata e polita*]', provided that they devote enough time to the project.⁸⁰ This impulse had been seen as far back as Dante's *De vulgari eloquentia*, and it reflects a central tension of the language question overall: the imposition of rules and order on a language will necessarily imply a level of social restriction, in the sense that not everyone will ever be able to access the language in its most 'refined and polished' form.

At the level of the educated elite, by the middle of the fifteenth century in Italy, humanist Latinate education and the concomitant preference for classicizing Latin as a language of serious intellectual discourse became standard. We can hear echoes of this fact in a dialogue that reflects what one might call 'every-day' humanist discussion, by a humanist who certainly was not in the front rank of fifteenth-century thinkers, but whose work is all the more revealing for that. Angelo Decembrio's *De politia litteraria* reflects discussions held at the court of Leonello D'Este in Ferrara.⁸¹ Leonello died in 1450, and the dialogue was written, piecemeal, in the succeeding fifteen years. The interlocutors discuss 'literary polish', and their first order of business is the establishment of a library that will reflect this polished ideal. They discuss the library's physical appearance as well as the books that should constitute its core. When they come to vernacular works, their comments are as brief as they are enlightening.

Tellingly the section begins with a discussion of Apuleius, an author whose late Latin style (later in the fifteenth and on into the sixteenth century) became a point of reference for authors stuck between the Scylla of extreme Ciceronianism and the Charybdis of an unanchored eclecticism.⁸² Feltrino Boiardo, having prepared a vernacular translation of Apuleius's *Golden Ass*, asks the prince for his judgment. Leonello responds: 'Certainly I think it should be understood in the genre of fable. Apuleius's style was so varied, ill-arranged, and rigid, that, as an author,

⁸⁰ Ibid., 10: 'E sia quanto dicono quella antica apresso di tutte le genti piena d'autorità, solo perché in essa molti dotti scrissero, simile certo sarà la nostra s'è dotti la vorranno molto con suo studio e vigilie essere elimata e polita'. On this point see also Mazzocco, (note 1) 82–105.

⁸¹ For literature on Decembrio, see Celenza C.S., "Creating Canons in Fifteenth-Century Ferrara: Angelo Decembrio's *De politia litteraria*, 1.10", *Renaissance Quarterly* 57 (2004) 43–98; there is an edition of the text in Decembrio A.C., *De politia litteraria*, ed. N. Witten (Munich–Leipzig: 2002).

⁸² Cf. D'Amico J., "The Progress of Renaissance Latin Prose" (note 8).

he had less familiarity with our speech than a Greek'.⁸³ Leonello goes on to say that this mention of Apuleius translated into the vernacular has put him in mind of works that 'we comment on with our wives and children on winter nights', that is, vernacular works.⁸⁴ Among them he counts French and Provençal poetry, as well as the vernacular works of Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio, who in the end will not be allowed into 'this more polished library, that we are now setting up'.⁸⁵ Along the way Decembrio, through the prince, makes an argument that, in its lack of basic reasoning, reflects the manner in which the question of ancient Latin's status as a learned language had become, by mid century, often a matter of unreflective comment: 'For of whom among the ancients have we ever heard that composed a work in his mother tongue?'⁸⁶ Other arguments advanced include the fact that we often hear in ancient literature of teachers and schools. Why would these have been necessary if people simply wrote in their mother tongue?

The debate's level rose in quality in the writings of a figure who spent much of his life in Ferrara (and was one of Decembrio's interlocutors in *De politia literaria*): Guarino Guarini da Verona, who in 1449 wrote a letter on the subject of Latinity to Leonello.⁸⁷ He states the question: 'what sort of language do we judge that the ancients employed, when we say that they spoke Latin. Was Latin what, today, we believe that the common people and the unlearned use, or was it that language of 'letters' preserved by the learned, which we justly call, using the Greek word, 'grammatica'?' Many today find it unbelievable that something that today 'is learned by means of paid work as well as late-night efforts and doctrines might be said to have been, back then, available for free, gradually understood, and inborn to peasants, workers, soldiers, and little women'.⁸⁸ Guarino's two indications of financial compensation

⁸³ Decembrio, ed. N. Witten (note 81), 1.6.1: 'Equidem inter fabulosa recipiendum arbitror. Cuius stilus ideo varius, incompotus, rigidus, quod auctori graeco minor fuerit nostri sermonis familiaritas'.

⁸⁴ Ibid.: 'Denique cum iam in omnium media turba consistimus, huius *Asini* mentio, quoniam abs te vulgaris effectus est, menti subiecit eos nunc libros memorare, quos apud uxores et liberos nostros nonnunquam hybernis noctibus exponamus'.

⁸⁵ Ibid., '...non tamen eos audemus in hanc politiore, quam nunc struimus, bibliothecam admittere'.

⁸⁶ Ibid., 'Nam a quo veterum unquam audivimus opus materno sermone compositum?'

⁸⁷ Text in Tavoni, (note 1) 229–38.

⁸⁸ Guarino, in Tavoni, (note 1) 228 (punctuation slightly altered): '...venit in mentem quaestiuicula quaedam coram te [*sc. Leonello*] quandoque disceptari solitus: cuius generis lingua maiores nostros usus fuisse iudicemus, cum eos latine locutos dicemus;

(*salariis laboribus...gratis*) clue us in to the fact, as Tavoni has noted, that Guarino's perspective is that of a professional grammarian.⁸⁹ He has a professional interest, and one that is deeply informed as to the ancient and medieval grammatical tradition.

Given his background, he takes as points of departure certain standard problems and sources from the grammatical tradition. One of these aspects has to do with the complex meanings inherent in the word 'letter' or *littera*. For example, when Guarino uses, in the passage just quoted, the term 'language of letters' (*lingua...litteralis*) he is reflecting the fact that the term *littera* traditionally had three attributes associated with it: *potestas*, which signified the letter as the smallest sound-producing element; *figura*, which indicated the 'shape' of the letter and was thus related to writing; and the *nomen*, by means of which one could refer to a letter.⁹⁰ The term *lingua litteralis*, as such, enfolded within it quite a bit of complexity. This complexity was reflected in what, according to Guarino, the ancients believed about *latinitas*: that it had two basic meanings. He writes:

I notice therefore that *latinitas* was understood in two ways by the ancients: one way, certainly, was as that variety of conversational speech that did not possess a theoretical element or rules [*sine ratione sine regulis*], which we read that the ancients—both the sophisticated and the unsophisticated—were accustomed to employ, though even that form was a form of speech [*vox*] that employed letters [*litteralis*]. The other way that they understood *latinitas* was as something that the learned later [*i.e., after having been educated formally*] employed, that was acquired by means of study and craft.⁹¹

It is clear from Guarino's usage that his understanding of the term *litteralis* did not refer exclusively to a written language: a *lingua* could be

eane fuerit, quam hac aetate vulgo et ab indoctis usurpari sentimus, an litteralis et a peritis observata, quam graeco vocabulo recte grammaticam appellamus. Qua de re cum fere docti minus dubitent, reliqui contradicunt nec assentiri ullo pacto possunt, cum credibile non esse dicant ut, quae tantis salariis laboribus, vigiliis, atque praeceptis discitur oratio solisque nunc eruditis intellecta, ea tunc rusticis, operariis, militibus, et mulierculis gratis et sensim cognita innataque fuisse dicatur'.

⁸⁹ See Tavoni, (note 1) 73–104, 99 n. 29; my analysis is indebted to Tavoni's chapter.

⁹⁰ See Abercrombie D., "What is a 'letter'?" in *Idem, Studies in Phonetics and Linguistics* (Oxford: 1965) 76–85; and Tavoni, (note 1) 84–91.

⁹¹ Guarino, in Tavoni, (note 1) 229: 'Latinitatem igitur duobus acceptam modis apud maiores animadverto: uno quidem pro ea sermocinatione, qua priscos sine ratione sine regulis, urbanos et rusticos, uti solitos legimus, cum vox tamen ipsa litteralis esset; altero, qua studio et arte comparata docti posterius usi sunt'.

litteralis without necessarily being something that needed to be learned by means of *studium* and *ars*. He moves on to cite the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* (4.17), to the effect that *latinitas* is what preserves speech in a pure form. *Latinitas* keeps language safe from the vices of solecisms and the twin barbarisms of incorrect pronunciation and the unnecessary use of foreign words, when adequate Latin ones exist.

Guarino also took from the grammatical tradition the division, found in Isidore of Seville's *Etymologiae* (1.4.1), of the four-phase progress of ancient Latin. For Guarino, there was an 'extremely ancient' (*pervetusta*) age, in which the language was 'uncultivated and almost inarticulate' (*inculta quidem, velut infans*), a language located temporally in Italy's mythical past, among Ianus, Saturnus, Picus, and Faunus, and one in which people 'seemed to grind and break words rather than speak'.⁹² Then came Evander's mother, Nicostrata, who first brought the knowledge of letters to 'our people', speaking as an inspired prophet. In this early phase, despite its primitiveness, 'no one would deny that those words, which were commonly vulgar, as was characteristic of the age, still possessed a form that had to do with letters [*tamen litteralem gerere formam nemo negaverit*]'.⁹³ Second came the language of the Twelve Tables, spoken by those who were subject to King Latinus, up through Etruria. It was 'somewhat more elegant and polished, even if it was still not perfectly fitted together'.⁹⁴ Guarino's description of how people spoke in this phase is noteworthy: 'I would argue that these men spoke 'grammar' [*grammaticam*], that is, in a way that has to do with letters [*litteralem*], rather than 'grammatically' [*grammatice*], so that they are like those who express their thoughts led more by custom than by theory and acquired skill'.⁹⁵ The third age followed, in which the way of speaking was 'already beautiful, mature, and skillfully put together [*iam formosa iam adulta iam concinna*]', and it was in this age that so many poets, orators, and historians flourished, including Plautus,

⁹² Tavoni, (note 1) 230, 13: '...magis frendere et verba frangere quam loqui' viderentur'. One thinks of Vico.

⁹³ Ibid., 230, 14: 'Quae verba, licet tunc vulgaria ut illius aetatis essent, tamen litteralem gerere formam nemo negaverit'.

⁹⁴ Ibid., 230, 15: 'Altera subinde deprehensa est, quae ab Latino rege citra, Fauni filio, in consuetudinem venit, nonnihil politior limatiorve, non tamen adhuc absolute constructa, ...'.

⁹⁵ Ibid., 230, 17: 'Hos grammaticam, idest litteralem, non grammaticae, locutos contenderim, ut qui consuetudine magis quam ratione et artificio ducti eorum sensa enuntiarent'.

Naevius, Ennius, Ovid, Vergil, the Gracchi, Cato, and 'that singular representative of eloquence, Cicero [*unicum eloquentiae specimen Cicero*]'.⁹⁶ The fourth age followed, characterized by a mixing together of different forms and the subsequent corruption of the language.⁹⁷ The 'undeleted footsteps' [*indeleta vestigia*] of the barbarians 'stained the splendid brilliance of Roman eloquence'.⁹⁸

Guarino does not say whether he means by the 'indeleta vestigia' that it was the vernacular that emerged, or whether the Latin language as such was severely corrupted. In any case, during the time of the second and third phases, Latin was at least understood by all, so that people of all social classes could understand dramatic and comic performances. As evidence he offers passages from Terence and Plautus in which the audience is asked to applaud.⁹⁹ Orators too could make themselves understood, as could military leaders to their soldiers. Guarino says that he would not deny that there were certain words that only people with an education would have fully understood, though there were those who could speak well without a literary education.¹⁰⁰ Ultimately, for Guarino,

... Latin discourse, which now is established by acquired skill and rules, was in earlier days only perceived by means of usage, since even the use of letters of was rare,¹⁰¹ as Livy testifies; and it seems that Latin speech in a broad sense was usually available to all, so that even those who were uneducated could both speak and understand Latin well. Just so, we observe that, along with their vital spirit, the power of roaring is inborn in the lion, the power of mooing in the cow, and the power of whinnying in the horse.¹⁰²

⁹⁶ Ibid., 231.

⁹⁷ Ibid.: 'Quarta deinde mixta quaedam emersit seu potius immersit lingua, quam rectius corruptelam linguae quis dixerit'. 'Quarta' refers here, I believe, to the antecedent 'locutio', earlier, when Guarino began the scheme of the four periods (230): 'Si quis igitur diligenter veterum monumenta lustraverit, quadripartitum latinae locutionis usum agnoscet. Prima illa traditur pervetusta...'.
⁹⁸ Ibid., 231: '...quorum [*sc. Gothorum, etc.*] indeleta vestigia luculentum illum romanae suavitatis splendorem macularunt et instar faecis obscurarunt'.

⁹⁹ Ibid., 231–32.
¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 232.

¹⁰¹ Here it is interesting that Guarino uses the word 'littera' as a stand-in for 'written speech' or 'writing' as he refers to Livy, 6.1.2; there, Livy had accounted for his only having written five earlier books on so long a period by mentioning the paucity of written source material.

¹⁰² Ibid., 233: 'Vides iam, magnifice princeps, latinam locutionem, quae nunc arte constat et regulis, superioribus saeculis usu tantum fuisse perceptam, cum rarus esset litterarum usus, Livio teste, apparetque sic latinam orationem late per omnes patere

Later Guarino speaks of the capacity to use Latin as an 'inborn power' among the ancient Romans (234,37). As to Latin's complexity, he remembers marveling, when he was in Constantinople studying with Manuel Chrysoloras's nephew, at how children and women could speak an inflected language (235–36). Throughout, Guarino's implicit perspective comes through: there may have been different registers of language in the second and third phases of Latin's ancient history, but they were all registers within the same, ultimately unitary Latin language. All of it, theoretically, represented a language subject to rules, rules that the professionally interested *grammaticus* could come to know.

IV

Poggio Bracciolini's written intercession into the debate came in 1450 in his *Disceptatio convivialis*, III, reflecting conversations he had had the year before, in which the same question concerning the status of ancient Roman spoken Latinity had come up: was there 'one type of *oratio* for learned men, and another for the common people and the crowd'?¹⁰³ Poggio was an old lion by this time, one of the few then around who had been present at the original set of curial conversations in the 1430s. Poggio recalls the letter Bruni had written to Biondo, characterizing Bruni's position in the following way: '...he attempted to prove that there was not one language common to all, but rather that there was one style of speaking that belonged to the people, another for learned men'.¹⁰⁴ Poggio recalls his own earlier response: it all depends on how one grew up. Why is it so difficult to imagine that something now acquired by learning could not then have been mastered by daily usage? We know of many in the environment of the papal court who arrived unlearned and then through the custom of speaking and listening to others were able to speak Latin in a passable way. If the ancients

solitam, ut etiam illiterati bene latine et loqui et intelligere possent, ut rugire leoni, mugire bovi, equis hinnire simul cum animabus nasci cernimus'.

¹⁰³ Poggio, in Tavoni, (note 1) 239: 'Diutina me dubitatio tenuit, utrum priscis Romanis latina lingua, quam grammaticam vocamus, fuit omnium communis, an alia quaedam esset doctorum virorum, alia plebes et vulgi oratio...'.
¹⁰⁴ Ibid.: 'Leonardus Aretinus epistola quam scripsit ad Flavium Forliviensem probare nititur non fuisse eam linguam omnibus communem, sed aliam popularem, aliam eruditorum virorum extitisse locutionem'.

learned this language along with their mother's milk, it makes perfect sense that they should have been in possession of the language.¹⁰⁵

Poggio's examination of this problem does not go far beyond that last point on a theoretical level. Its richness and importance, however, lie in the amount of material he gathers and the way he brings it all together. Poggio reports that Bruni (now departed) had always asked him to write something on the problem. Until now, the press of obligations has prevented him from doing so (240, 10). Poggio sets out his own arguments first, then toward the end addresses Bruni's points in that long-ago letter. The name of the language, Poggio begins, comes from the language spoken by the inhabitants of Latium, the Latini. 'Reason itself establishes that this was their only language. Had there been another language different from this one, another name would have been chosen'.¹⁰⁶ Without addressing the birth of the vernacular, Poggio mentions the notion that present-day Romans (especially women) preserve some Latin locutions in their speech, and he traces some Latin expressions in the speech of present-day Spaniards (241, 18–241, 26). These survivals all show that some isolated remains of a different, ancient tongue survive in the vernaculars of today.

Poggio's next set of arguments draws principally on Quintilian and Cicero. Its aim is to document Latin being spoken and understood in a wide variety of circumstances. Poggio uses a number of traditional arguments that have come up already: Cornelia and the Gracchi; orations being given before broad audiences; evidence that the audiences of both plays and orations understood what was going on; and evidence that people without formal learning could still be excellent speakers. Along the way he also enumerates evidence from Gellius, Livy, Cicero, and Varro which demonstrates how the ancient Latin language changed (250–52): from Gellius and Livy he finds places where they highlighted the influx of foreign words into Latin (from the Etruscans, Spanish, the Gauls, and so on; cf. 249–250); from Varro he finds evidence that the ancient Latin language itself changed: what was once 'ollum' and 'ollam' became 'illum' and 'illam', for example.¹⁰⁷

Poggio, with his historical sense, comprehends ancient Latinity as one long, essentially unitary and organic phenomenon that, nonethe-

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., 240: 'Hanc unicum fuisse ipsa ratione constat. Si enim alius ab hoc sermo extitisset, aliud quoque nomen sortitum esset'.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., 252; citing Varro, *Ling.*, 7.42.

less, like all historical entities, was constantly changing and reflecting historical circumstances. From Varro, too, he finds evidence that common people would occasionally misspeak, declining nouns incorrectly, for example. The fact that their mistakes were noticed as such serves as evidence both that the Latin language was unitary and that the commoners making mistakes were not speaking a wholly different language. Another telling example along these lines comes when Poggio gives the example, drawn from Gellius, that Sisenna introduced the form 'assentio' in place of 'assentior', and that he was thereafter followed in this usage.¹⁰⁸ Again, this type of example shows that Poggio not only realizes that languages change but also that change was inevitable, a natural property of all things human.

Poggio makes short work of Bruni's old letter toward the end of the dialogue. Poggio argues that one can document even private conversations held in Latin, conversations for which a vernacular, had a separate one existed, would have been appropriate.¹⁰⁹ Bruni's example of the Mass as something of which the common people have a passive understanding does not work for Poggio. He points out that the Mass and the Gospels are repeated ritually, the same texts in the same ways, so that it is inevitable that people will have knowledge of them. In contrast, the orations that the common people would have heard in the general assembly in ancient Rome were different each time; and even if ancient authors polished the orations when committing them to writing, they were still originally spoken in Latin (258, 129–39). Finally, plays, for example, of Terence, were not only sights of spectacle and action; they were also *recited*, so that the texts were quite important in understanding their meaning (259, 143–45). Soon thereafter Carlo Marsuppini, one of Poggio's interlocutors, convinces the assembled group in the dialogue to go off and have a drink, and the interlocutors disperse.

Poggio's lengthy exposition yields the following message: for him, ancient Latin was a unitary language spoken by all ancient Romans, even if different people spoke Latin with differing levels of ability. In another of his works, his first attack on Lorenzo Valla, Poggio writes: 'Usage has always been the master of speaking in Latin, and usage is

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., 255; citing Gell, 2.25, who was himself citing Varro.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., 257; citing Flavius Vopiscus, *Aurelian*, 14.1–2.

found only in the books of ancient authors'.¹¹⁰ Nowhere does Poggio say that Latin is now a 'dead' language—indeed, for him as for the rest of his fifteenth-century colleagues, the terminological distinction of a 'living' versus a 'dead' language was still a number of decades away.¹¹¹ Yet the danger of conceiving of a language that was present only in books, especially if one restricts the number of books and the way those books are used, remained at the sometimes unarticulated center of this debate. History *versus* canonicity, history *and* canonicity: these were key poles of argumentation. Poggio, in his seventies, had a younger rival, the polemical Lorenzo Valla (1405/7–57), whose militant position represents the next phase of this fifteenth-century debate.

Their polemic had many facets, including personal rivalry as well as possible political overtones.¹¹² When it came to the matter of the language of the ancients, and the manner in which that language impacted modern practice, two central aspects about Valla need to be fore-grounded. First, his polemicism served as an engine for much if not all of his work. When Valla wrote, he was usually writing *against* someone, sometimes, as in the case of the Poggio polemic, a specific person, sometimes against an unnamed opponent. Second, for all his polemicism, Valla was first and foremost a reformer, and his ideas about the Latin language reflected this tendency.

As to the polemic against Poggio, Valla's position is that the ancients did not speak *grammaticae* from birth, as Poggio maintained. Why did they need schools, grammar books, and teachers? In his *Apologus II*, Valla represented the debate this way, using Poggio and himself as interlocutors:

Lorenzo: So then, you avow that little children spoke 'grammatically'.

Poggio: I believe it and avow it.

L: And why then did they send children to a grammar teacher?

P: So they might learn the theories and causes [*rationes et causas*] of the language they knew.

L: There you go again. I wish I spoke properly grammatically without knowing something about the causes and theories of grammar! But I have

¹¹⁰ Poggio Bracciolini, *Oratio*, from his *Opera Omnia*, ed. R. Fubini, 4 vols. (Turin: 1964–69) 1:205, as cited in Cesarini Martinelli, (note 1) 46: 'Latine enim loquendi usus semper fuit magister, qui solum autorum priscorum libris et scriptis continentur'.

¹¹¹ On this point see Faithfull, (note 1) and below.

¹¹² For the political overtones see Cesarini Martinelli, (note 1) 34–42. In general see Camporeale S.I., *Lorenzo Valla: Umanesimo e teologia* (Florence: 1972); and Fubini, (note 1).

to admit that in this matter you are far ahead of me, since you've never cared too much about the teachings of this art. What are you saying? Either grammar is an art and thus something that was handed down by the learned and not by nursemaids; or what everyone says *is* an art is not an art, as you alone, more than anyone else, seem to know...¹¹³

Valla suggests that Poggio is arguing contrary positions. Valla's view is that Poggio, on the one hand, admits that *grammatica* is an *ars*, which implies that it is a skill with underlying principles and techniques that can, and that need to be, taught and learned. On the other hand, Poggio seems to be saying that there was a time when this was not so, that (as Valla has the character Poggio phrase it) 'grammar was not, then, a skill [*artificium*] as it is now, but rather usage and custom'.¹¹⁴ Valla, in truth, is not preoccupied with the everyday language of the common people in antiquity. Instead, he sees the Latin language as an instrument of culture, something that exists both inside and, ideally, outside of time.

Valla's views on the place of historical analysis and Latinity reflect this larger view, even as they exemplify his radically reforming side. As to Valla the reformer, he believed that the *consuetudo* of the ancients should be respected. His source base, however, was in practice restricted, as he excluded a number of ancient authors from the ranks of those whose Latin was sufficiently pure. When he found clearly documented cases of ancient usage, if he did not believe that that usage reflected the idealized clarity that a proper Latin should have, he was unafraid to suggest changes in practice. Valla, in other words, thought that even the ancients could make mistakes.

Poggio had attacked Valla for suggesting, as he had indeed done in his *Elegantiae* (as well as his *Adnotationes in Novum Testamentum*),

¹¹³ Valla L., *Apologus II*, in Tavoni, (note 1) 260–73, at 270–71: 'Laur.: Ergo grammaticae locutos fuisse confiteris infantes. Po.: Sentio et confiteor. Laur.: Cur igitur ad preceptorem grammatices mittebantur? Po.: Ut discerent lingue, quam norant, rationes et causas. Lau.: Eodem revolveris. Utinam ego recte grammaticae loquerer, nec aliquid causarum ac rationum grammaticae nossem! Quanquam in hac tu re longe antecellis, qui nunquam de huius artis preceptis magnopere curasti. Quid ais? Aut ars grammatica est, et ab eruditibus, non autem a nutricibus, tradebatur; aut ars non est, quam omnes fatentur esse artem, ut tu unus plus omnibus sapere videre, et ceteros tanquam tardissimo ingenio damnare, qui artem fecerint id quod usu et sua sponte percipi poterat'.

¹¹⁴ Ibid., 270: 'Po.: Tu vero pro mea causa loqueris, qui non artificium olim fuisse grammaticam, ut nunc est, sed usum et consuetudinem volo, eoque pueris quoque et infantibus scitu facilem'.

that the Vulgate translation of the New Testament could be improved.¹¹⁵ Valla replied, in his *Antidotum*, in the following fashion:

So if I am correcting anything, I am *not* correcting Sacred Scripture, but rather its *translation*, and in doing so I am not being insolent toward scripture but rather pious, and I am doing nothing more than translating better than the earlier translator, so that it is my translation—should it be correct—that should be called Sacred Scripture, not his.¹¹⁶

It is known that Valla did not believe that Jerome was the translator of the Vulgate.¹¹⁷ Still, his confidence is striking, especially for one so intent on reaching the highest ranks of the papal court. This and other similar interventions cannot be understood without taking Valla's reformist nature into account.

It was not only the language of the Vulgate, which could easily be seen as a late, and therefore inorganic, form of the language, that Valla wanted to purify. He also wanted to clean up ambiguities in the Latin language that by any accounting belonged to ancient, classical Latinity. One example that Cesarini Martinelli has brought into relief illustrates the point. Valla insisted in the *Elegantiae* (2.1) on differentiating between the subjective and objective genitive (for Valla 'active' and 'passive') when it came to personal pronouns. 'Every genitive' Valla writes, '...is understood in either an active or a passive way. You can also add in a possessive way, which I understand as being very close to the active way. Examples of the active way include: 'providentia dei' [God's providence], 'bonitas dei' [God's goodness]. Examples of the passive way include 'timor dei' [the fear of God], 'cultus dei' [the worship of God]...' ¹¹⁸

¹¹⁵ The following is indebted to Cesarini Martinelli, (note 1) 63.

¹¹⁶ *Antidotum I*, ed. A. Wesseling, 112, cited in Cesarini Martinelli, (note 1) 63: 'Itaque, ne multus sim, siquid emendo non Sacram Scripturam emendo, sed illius potius interpretationem, neque in eam contumeliosus sum, sed pius potius, nec aliud facio nisi quod melius quam prior interpretes transfero, ut mea tralatio, si vera fuerit, sit appellanda Sancta Scriptura, non illius'.

¹¹⁷ On this point see the treatment of Valla in Bentley J., *Humanists and Holy Writ: New Testament Scholarship in the Renaissance* (Princeton: 1983).

¹¹⁸ Text in Cesarini Martinelli, (note 1) 71–72: 'Genitivus omnis, ut taceam si qui sint alii modi, aut active aut passive accipitur; adde etiam possessive, quod pene pro active accipio. Active, ut 'providentia dei', 'bonitas dei'. Passive, ut 'timor dei', 'cultus dei'. Ibi deus providet et benigne agit, non ipsi providetur et benigne fit; hic timetur et colitur, non timet et colit'. One can only speculate, parenthetically, if one of Valla's self-professed allies, Nicholas of Cusa, had this distinction in mind when he gave the delightfully ambiguous title to one of his most interesting works, *De visione dei* (*On*

The ancients had not been clear on this distinction, and ambiguities throughout the classical period are clearly observable.¹¹⁹ Valla suggests that the genitive forms of the possessive pronoun, for example the forms *mei*, *tui*, and *sui*, should always possess, as Cesarini Martinelli has phrased it, ‘the objective function, whereas the possessives, *meus*, *tuus*, and *suus*’ preserve the subjective function. ‘*Amor meus* will refer to my love for someone else, *amor mei* the love of someone else toward me’.¹²⁰ Valla has some limited evidence for this claim, as he suggests that the archaic forms *mis*, *tis*, and *sis* (analogous to *meus*, *tuus*, and *suus*) always reflected the subjective function of the genitive. But in truth there is not that much evidence of how those archaic forms were used. Moreover, though Valla’s way does represent the majority tendency in Cicero’s work, exceptions can be found even there.¹²¹

The ancients, in short, had no hard and fast rule that regulated this phenomenon. Valla for his part feels free to invent a rule, which is appealing to him precisely because it respects the idealized inner logic that Latin, as the preeminent language of culture, must possess—a logic that he, as a reformer, needs to supply. Valla is different from Poggio precisely because Valla does not think that ‘only the books of ancient authors’, as Poggio had put it, served as the authoritative foundation upon which one might build the edifice of proper Latinity. Instead, human reason and the practice of language—which never ends—must also play a role. Latin was inside of time, in the sense that the proper ancient, historically and chronologically identifiable sources could be documented and understood in context. That historical understanding served as a foundation for human reason. Yet Latin was also outside of time, in the sense that its evolution represented the evolution of culture. As such, proper Latin’s empire could never end, since if it did, true culture would end with it. It deserved the zeal of a reformer to keep it pristine, reflective of ancient norms (even if those norms were not always overtly articulated or even scrupulously adhered to by the ancients), and adequate to the times.

the Vision of God), which skillfully exploits both the objective and subjective genitive sense of the term ‘God’.

¹¹⁹ See Cesarini Martinelli, (note 1) 72–73.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, 72.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, 73–4.

V

A final entrant among major fifteenth-century Latin authors was Francesco Filelfo (1398–1481), who treated the question of the language of the ancient Romans in two letters, one from 1451, the other from 1473.¹²² Filelfo serves as confirmation of the basic consensus achieved among humanists regarding ancient Latin's 'natural' status. Filelfo, in the first of the two letters, maintains that 'the entire Roman people used a style of speaking [*oratio*] that Cicero termed public [*forensem*] and characteristic of all [*popularem*]'.¹²³ Variations of register and terminology in ancient languages certainly existed for specialized reasons. Philosophers, for example, on account of the new and unusual things they discovered, needed also to use new and unusual words.¹²⁴ Certain poets, too, had to do the same thing (Tavoni, 275, 7–8).

A key for Filelfo is Latin's nature as a language, like Hebrew and Greek, that possessed its own *grammatica*:

We are aware that the Hebrews and the Greeks employ one style of speaking that was characteristic of the learned, another of the common people, and we have heard that this is also the case among the Egyptians, Arabs, Assyrians, Persians, and all of the rest of the peoples of that sort who have their own, exclusive *grammatica*. The learned style of speech is perhaps more polished and more proper than the mother tongue, but

¹²² See Tavoni, (note 1) 170–81; and Mazzocco, (note 1) 65–8. For literature on Filelfo, see Robin D., *Filelfo in Milan: Writings, 1451–77* (Princeton: 1991); AAVV, *Francesco Filelfo nel quinto centenario della morte: atti del XVII Convegno di studi maceratesi* (Padua: 1986); Kraye J., "Francesco Filelfo's Lost Letter 'De ideis'", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 42 (1979) 236–49; Eadem, "Francesco Filelfo on Emotions, Virtues, and Vices: A Re-examination of his Sources", *Bibliothèque d'humanisme et renaissance* 43 (1981) 129–40.

¹²³ Francesco Filelfo to Federico Sforza, in Tavoni, (note 1) 274–80, at 280.4: 'Nulla, inquam, alia oratione universum romanum populum usum arbitror, quam ipsa illa quam solet hic idem Cicero forensem popularemque appellare'. Tavoni cites Cic., *De orat.*, 1.108 as a possible source; one can add Cic., *De fin.* 3.4, where Cicero makes the same point about specialized language: 'Itaque et dialectici et physici verbis utuntur iis quae ipsi Graeciae nota non sint, geometrae vero et musici, grammatici etiam more quodam loquuntur suo. Ipsae rhetorum artes, quae sunt totae forenses atque populares, verbis tamen in docendo quasi privatis utuntur ac suis'.

¹²⁴ Filelfo, in Tavoni, (note 1) 274.5: 'Qua enim philosophi oratione sunt usi, ea ab hac oratoria plerisque in locis pro rerum materia plurimum differt. Nam propter nova planeque inusitata philosophorum inventa, inusitatis item et novis verbis opus fuit'. Here cf. Cic., *De fin.*, 3.4–5.

it is still not wholly different when it comes to difference of inflection, declinations, pronunciation, and word-endings.¹²⁵

Filelfo suggests that there is abundant evidence that people of all levels could understand, for example, the language of theater. They understood it 'in a way that was characteristic of Latinity, not of grammatical learning'. Why? Because 'literature in many places is rather difficult, but Latinity was known to all'. Why else would Quintilian have warned parents to make sure that the speaking style of their nursemaids was 'not error-ridden but that they spoke correctly, since a boy attempts to imitate the words of those whom he first hears'.¹²⁶ Filelfo's point is that it was taken for granted among the ancients that good Latin was learned from earliest youth on, by means of unconscious imitation.

Filelfo draws on his own personal experience in the later letter to Lorenzo de' Medici. Filelfo had spent seven years in his early career in Constantinople, living there from 1420–27 and marrying the daughter, Theodora, of John Chrysoloras, a nephew of the famous diplomat and educator Manuel Chrysoloras. Filelfo had firsthand knowledge of everyday people speaking a highly inflected language, and he is more than willing to use that knowledge to his advantage. He argues that for the ancient Romans Latin was a vernacular, 'common to learned and unlearned alike', just as Greek is today.¹²⁷ There were different regional accents: Quintilian reports Asinius Pollio's judgment that Livy possessed a certain 'Paduan accent' (*quandam Patavinitatem*).¹²⁸ Yet it was all one

¹²⁵ Filelfo, in Tavoni, (note 1) 277.9: 'Quod, ut certo credam, cum alia pleraque argumenta possunt adduci, tum illud in primis: novimus Hebraeos et Graecos, audimus item Aegyptios, Arabas, Assyrios, Persas, et eodem modo reliquas omnis nationes quibus propria est suaque grammatica, cum alio sermone uti litterali et alio vulgari, litteralis limatior est fortassis et proprius magis quam maternus, non alius tamen omninoque diversus quo ad dictionum variationem, declinationem, enunciationem, desinentiam'.

¹²⁶ Ibid., 277.21–2: 'At ea non grammaticae, sed latine referebantur. Nam litteratura plerisque in locis obscurior est, at latinitas omnibus nota. Quod ni haberet ita, frustra monuisset Quintilianus ante omnia acrem habendam esse curam parentibus ne viciosus sit sermo nutricibus, sed recte loquantur, cum puer earum verba contemtor effingere quas primum audierit'. Filelfo is thinking of Quint., *Inst.*, 1.1.4, which, as Tavoni points out ad loc., Guarino and Poggio had also used.

¹²⁷ Filelfo, in Tavoni, (note 1) 282, 12: 'Sermo latinus erat doctis indoctisque communis, qui simul cum infantia alebatur, eratque materna ipsa vernaculaque lingua qualem videmus apud Graecos...'

¹²⁸ Ibid., 283, 18–20: 'Quin ipse etiam Cicero praecipit in dicendo vitium vel maximum esse a vulgari genere orationis atque a consuetudine communis sensus abhorrere. Quod cum T. Livius, singulari facundia vir, aliquando neglexerit, non dubitavit Pollio

language. Filelfo waves off Bruni's earlier argument, that Latin (with its inflections, declensions, and conjugations) was simply too difficult for common people, throwing Poggio into the mix as well:

If both Leonardo and Poggio had been familiar with Greek literature and the vernacular language, they never would have fallen into such an error. But Leonardo was familiar with Greek literature only at a middling level, and Poggio not at all. And neither of them knew the vernacular. By the gods, those 'little Greek women' will decline nouns through all their cases and numbers, and they will vary verbs through all the tenses and moods, following the laws that govern person, number, and tense much better than those two do with respect to things that belong to either our own Latinity or literature. It is well known that in many cases they were often less than diligent, especially Poggio.¹²⁹

Here Filelfo's seven-year stint in Greece permits him to speak authoritatively about the status of the modern Greek vernacular. At the same time, his propensity for self-aggrandizement allows him to diminish Bruni, who was a fine Hellenist, and Poggio, who had made, in truth, an argument very similar to Filelfo's when it came to the power of usage and environment to mold speech. Filelfo plays a familiar humanist game of status-seeking: to Florence's first citizen, Lorenzo de' Medici, Filelfo transmits the message that two of Florence's most prominent citizens, the republic's official historiographers Bruni and Poggio, had been amateurs.

The tensions in Filelfo's thoughts, his recapitulation of arguments already made, point to a consensus in humanist thought: that ancient Latin had been a natural language. At the same time, this realization represented the final, self-annihilating fruition of an early humanist triumph: since Petrarch, intense examinations of the Latin language had revealed a gap between the Latin in use and the Latin inscribed and memorialized in the ancient works humanists loved so well. Historical difference in its most elemental form, that of human verbal expression,

Asinius cavillari patavinatatem quandam in eius inesse oratione. Est enim ipsa oratio, it ait idem Cicero, auribus multitudinis accomodanda'.

¹²⁹ Ibid., 294, 87–8: 'Si et Leonardus et Poggius graecam litteraturam vulgaremque linguam tenuissent, nunquam in tantum cecidissent erroris. Sed litteraturam Leonardus mediocriter tenebat, quam Poggius ignorabat omnino; at linguam vulgarem sciebat neuter. Mediusfidius mulierculae ipsae graecae et declinabunt nomina per omnis casus ac numeros, et variabunt verba per omnia tempora ac modos, servatis personis, numeribus, ac temporibus longe melius quam uterque ipsorum ea, quae nostrae sunt aut latinitatis aut litteraturae: quod constat in plerisque minus aliquando diligenter fuisse, et praesertim Poggium'.

had become apparent early on, and then brought into ever starker relief with each succeeding generation of humanists. It is unsurprising that Filelfo's one real innovation, subtle though it was, serves as a coda to the debate. Filelfo, unlike other humanists before him, places into sharp relief the seeming difference between speaking *grammatica*—'grammatically', according to strict rules—and speaking *latine*—Latin, but a Latin that could only be authentic in a language community that learned it from birth, hearing it spoken naturally from infancy onward. In theory at least, thereafter it was possible to imagine a language that was native, spoken by all in a broad sense, but that could also be perfected and given its own set of rules, rules that themselves would be theorized, regulated, and employed by a select elite.

Roughly contemporary to Filelfo's second contribution in 1473, Cristoforo Landino (1424–98) gave an oration preceding his series of university lectures on Petrarch. In it he suggested: 'whoever wants to be a good Tuscan must be a good Latin first'.¹³⁰ Landino (who had married into the Alberti family) conceived of Tuscan as a living, natural language that had a number of triumphs already behind it by the time of the late fifteenth century. Yet Tuscan also had room for development, so that it too could become richer, more ornate, and a language suitable for addressing the endless variety of human experience in a formalized and lasting manner. It was only a matter of time before Latin became an academic language, both a frozen model of elegant clarity and a precision instrument. On the one hand, thereafter one could look at Latin as if at an exhibit in a museum, in an effort to make one's own living language mirror the power and prestige that a now dead ancient Latin had enjoyed in its period of Roman glory. As Alessandro Citolini would put it in 1540, arguing in defense of the vernacular, '...Latin is dead and buried in books; the vernacular is alive, and in Italy it now

¹³⁰ Landino C., "Orazione fatta per Cristofano da Pratovecchio quando cominciò a leggere i sonetti di messere Francesco Petrarca in istudio", in Cardini R., *La critica del Landino* (Florence: 1973) 342–54, at 349–550: 'Niuno di voi dubita che ogni sermone ha bisogno di parole e di sentenzie. Le parole senza arte sempre fieno inette perché mancheranno d'eleganzia, mancheranno di composizione, mancheranno di dignità. Le sentenzie, le quali non saranno tratte da veri studi d'umanità, sempre fieno e frivoli e leggieri.... Se adunque fa di bisogno l'arte, fa di bisogno la dottrina, e queste senza la Latina lingua non s'acquistano, è necessario essere latino chi vuole essere buono toscano'. For the dating, see Cardini R., *La critica*, 334–41, who suggests 1467–70 as the probable date of composition.

has the same function as did Latin while it was alive'.¹³¹ On the other hand, Latin as a uniform academic language was useful and necessary, as thinkers like Cortesi realized.

VI

It is an opportune time to return to Cortesi and his correspondent Poliziano. Poliziano's view on the possibility of the Latin language is Valla's, in one sense: he is eclectic, feeling free to mix disparate elements into his language. Yet Poliziano did not possess by nature Valla's grand reforming ambitions. He never wrote a major work of creative prose in Latin, comparable to Valla's various dialogues, nor a comprehensive reference manual, like Valla's *Elegantiae*. Indeed, Poliziano's interests in the *Miscellanea* were far different from those of Valla's more systematic *Elegantiae*. Valla prefers to be called an *orator*; Poliziano in his *Lamia* proudly claims the mantle of *grammaticus*.¹³² Whereas Valla aimed to present an entire system from the ground up (analogous to his ground-up attempt at reforming dialectic in his *Repastinatio*), Poliziano in his *Miscellanea* was intrigued by small but difficult philological problems. His interests were so broad that they show the omni-comprehensive side of philology that can be described as anthropological, interested in many forms of human expression. Poliziano was a scholar to whom an eclectic but classically-based Latinity was a point of pride. For him, even his Latin poetry served a scholarly purpose, and his delight in using in his prose recondite expressions in a smooth and authentic-seeming manner represented a way to define his membership and status in the scholarly community. As Poliziano's predecessor at the University of Florence, Cristoforo Landino, had argued, the aim of those who use the rich lexicon of past literary traditions was 'not to be the same as

¹³¹ Citolini A., *Lettera in difesa della lingua volgare* (Venice: 1551), 6r, as cited in Faithfull, (note 1) 281 (who also notes the initial publication date as 1540): '...essi parlano di queste due lingue come s'elle fossero in un medesimo termine e non s'avveggonno che la Latina è morta e sepolta ne' libri; e che la volgare è viva e tiene ora in Italia quel medesimo luogo che tenne la Latina mentre visse'. See also Wyatt M., *The Italian Encounter with Tudor England: A Cultural Politics of Translation* (Cambridge: 2005) 204–08.

¹³² Cf. Celenza C.S., *The Lost Italian Renaissance* (note 11) 88; Idem, "Petrarch, Latin" (note 9) 523–26.

the ones we imitate, but to be similar to them in such a way that the similarity is scarcely recognized except by the learned'.¹³³

Except by the learned: One trajectory, then, that members of Poliziano's generation could follow was that of Latinity as code, whereby one created a scholarly community, both real and imagined, by weaving together a rich texture of allusions, quotations, and intertextual gestures that could be recognized by the community's members. As to Cortesi, his reaction to Lorenzo Valla's *Elegantiae* serves also to frame his earlier response to Poliziano, even as it delineates the other, more public trajectory for the use of the Latin language. Cortesi, in his *De hominibus doctis*, had this to say about the contentious author of the *Elegantiae*: 'Valla sought to formulate the import of words, and he taught an approach, albeit incorrect, to the structure of discourse. But in fact there is a different basis for composition, which Valla either omitted or did not know. For ornate, sweet, and uncorrupted Latin style requires a certain periodic composition which creates an audible harmony'.¹³⁴ The young, ambitious Cortesi published his *De hominibus doctis* in 1489, around the time of his debate with Poliziano. What he disapproved of in Valla stood at the root of his objection to Poliziano as well. Cortesi saw Latin as necessary for use in a society for which total, ground-up reform, Valla-style, was unthinkable.

Poliziano, needless to say, had no such Valla-sized ambitions. He did, however, have an audience: scholars, who would appreciate his *recherché* yet classically based Latin. The audience for which Cortesi, by contrast, aimed his loosely Ciceronian Latin was a society in which sovereign states of all stripes were growing. These states possessed bureaucratic institutions that needed standardized languages, languages that were translatable across the newly emerging order of elite European Latinate education. Scholars were included in that realm, but they were not the only audience.

¹³³ Cristoforo Landino, *Disputationes Camaldulenses*, as cited and translated in Pigman, (note 1) 11.

¹³⁴ Cortesi P., *De hominibus doctis dialogus*, ed. M.T. Graziosi (Rome: 1973) 40, cited in Marsh, (note 1) 103, n.4 (the translation is that of Marsh): 'Conabatur Valla vim verborum exprimere, et quasi vias, sed eas non rectas tradebat ad structuram orationis... est certe alia scribendi ratio, quae a Valla aut praetermissa est, aut ignorata. Florens enim ille, et suavis, et incorruptus Latinus sermo postulat sane conglutinationem, et comprehensionem quandam verborum, quibus conficitur ipsa concinnitas ad sonum'.

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